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Coulter, Thelma T

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**An Experimental and Statistical Study of the Relationship
of Prejudice and Certain Personality
Variables.**

**A Thesis
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty
of the
University of London**

**by
Thelma T. Coulter, B.A., M.A.**

**In Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
July, 1953.**

ABSTRACT

AN EXPERIMENTAL AND STATISTICAL STUDY OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PREJUDICE AND CERTAIN PERSONALITY VARIABLES

T. T. Coulter

Problems: To investigate some of the personality factors related to primary social attitudes. (1) To investigate the personality correlates of authoritarianism, viz., rigidity, intolerance of ambiguity, and ethnocentrism. (2) To determine if the underlying personality structure of Communists and Fascists is equally authoritarian. (3) To determine the position of Fascists in the Radical-Conservative, Tough-minded-Tender-minded factor space.

Subjects: The subjects were male, working-class adults and included 43 members each of the Communist and Fascist party, and a normal group of 86.

Procedure: The battery of tests included the R-T attitude scale, the California Ethnocentrism and Fascism scales, three tests of rigidity, two tests of intolerance of ambiguity, and the Thematic Apperception Test. An Emphasis score was obtained from the R-T scale and a second score obtained from the T scale by omitting the two Jewish items and re-scoring. Four scores relating to Dominance and Aggression and two scores relating to Introversion-Extroversion were obtained from the T.A.T. An analysis of variance was done on 17 variables for the three groups, and t tests of significance were run between the groups. Fifteen variables were selected for a Thurstonian centroid analysis on each group separately.

Results: The results of the analysis of variance and t tests show Communists and Fascists to be similar on the rigidity, intolerance of ambiguity, and revised tough-minded scales. (2) Both the Communists and Fascists were found to be dominant, but the Communists tended to be more openly dominant and the Fascists to be indirectly dominant. On the aggression variable, the Fascists were more openly aggressive whereas the Communists showed more indirect aggression than the Fascists. (3) The Fascists were found to lie in the conservative-tough-minded quadrant. (4) The factor analysis yielded five centroid factors in each group. After orthogonal rotation four factors in all groups were interpreted as 1) Tough-mindedness, 2) Rigidity, 3) Intolerance of ambiguity and 4) Aggression. In addition a fifth factor of dominance was found in the Fascist and normal group.

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- (1) Communists and Fascists to be similar on the rigidity, intolerance of ambiguity, and revised tough-minded scales.
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- (2) Rigidity
- (3) Intolerance of ambiguity and
- (4) Aggression.

In addition, a fifth factor of dominance was found in the Fascist and Normal group.

The statements and opinions published by the author are the result of her own study and do not necessarily reflect the opinion or policy of the Maudsley Hospital.

As the shadows deepened,
Goethe said "mehr Licht".

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CHAPTER I.

Introduction and Statement of the Problem.

Recent studies in social psychology leave no doubt in our minds that the social convictions of an individual are related to the basic structure of his personality. Sanai (1952), Saenger and Proshansky (1950), Smith (1949), Chein (1948), Cantril (1947), and many others working in this field have demonstrated this fact.

However, the study of personality was well advanced before the beginnings of social psychology, in the modern sense, gained the interest of psychologists.

Primary social attitudes have attracted a considerable number of research workers in recent years. In several factorial studies two main dimensions have been identified. Although the factors defining these dimensions have sometimes been given different names (see Related Studies), in general they define the same set of attitudes.

In one of the more extensive investigations carried out by Eysenck (1947), two major factors emerged. The first was the well known bi-polar factor, radicalism-conservatism (R); the second was named tough-minded-tender-minded (T), these terms being adopted from the writings of William James. This second dimension has been less well

investigated than the first and less is known about how it related to the basic structure of an individual's personality. Because of this further work is needed to clarify it.

In general, the term "tough-mindedness" is denoted by a favourable attitude towards the death penalty, flogging of criminals, free love, birth control, trial marriage, easier divorce, and use of the atom bomb. Personal who are tough-minded also believe on the whole that most religious people are hypocrites, God is an invention of the human mind, Jews are not valuable citizens, and maintenance of internal order within the nation is more important than complete freedom for all. For other attitudes the reader is referred to Appendix C where a copy of the T scale will be found.

Preliminary investigations by Eysenck (1951) indicate that the nature of this tough-minded variable may be of great importance, because it now seems highly likely that the scale measuring our T factor may tap some of the similarities in the personality make-up of certain authoritarian groups who cause much concern in Western political circles today.

In this connection an extensive study is reported by

3.

Adorno et al. (1950) in a volume entitled "The Authoritarian Personality". They constructed special attitude scales to measure prejudice and authoritarianism. They found that persons with a high score on a scale measuring potential fascism tended to be conservative, generally ethnocentric, rigid, intolerant of ambiguity, and to possess a variety of other personality traits all of which appeared to form a syndrome which they labelled an "antidemocratic". This pattern suggests that these individuals might fit into our tough-minded category.

Adorno et al. started out to investigate the correlates of anti-semitism, but soon extended the scope of the study to include the larger syndrome, "authoritarianism". They then proceeded to locate their dimension in this syndrome without regarding the other dimension involved. Fitting this into our dimensional scheme as shown in Fig. 1, it is evident that Adorno et al. ^{were} ~~was~~ in fact investigating persons in the tough-minded conservative quadrant. But owing to the fact that they only considered the one dimension, the picture is incomplete. They have not touched upon persons in the tough-minded radical quadrant.

However, this quadrant was investigated by Eysenck (1951) and it was shown that the communists fall into this quadrant and that the Fascists fall into the tough-minded

3.a.

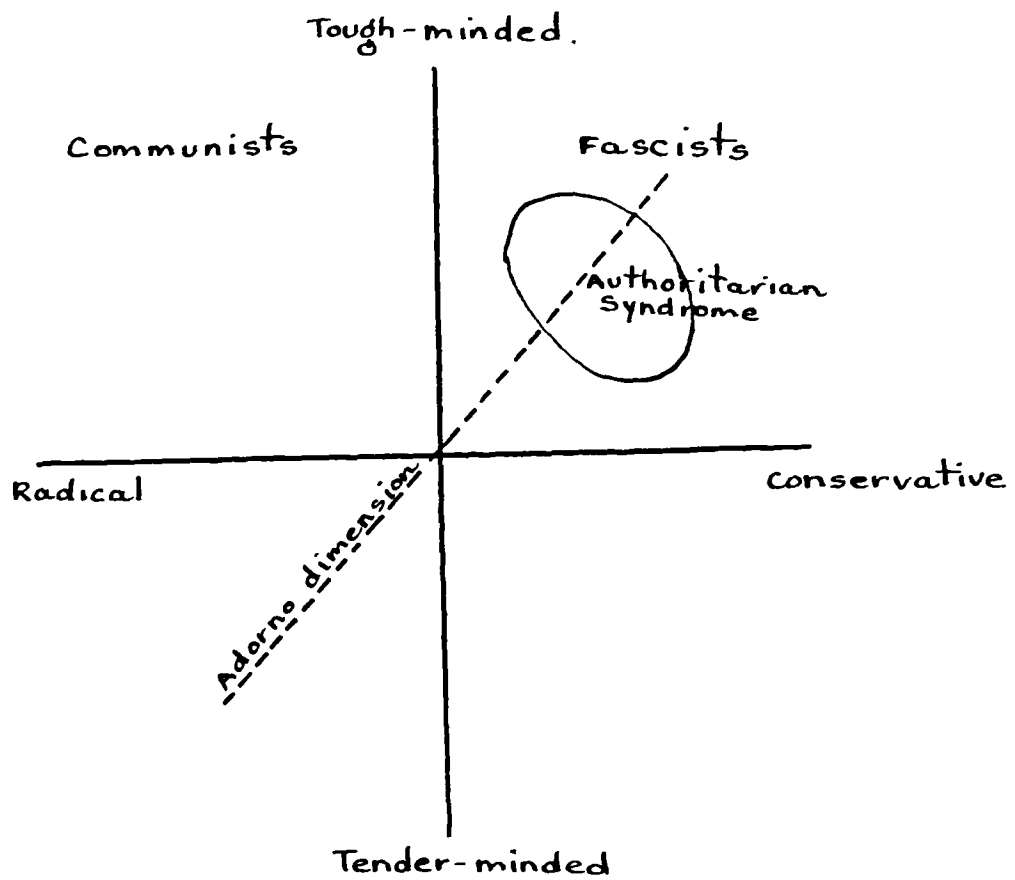


Figure 1

4.

conservative quadrant. From a scientific point of view it is now of interest to see which characteristics, if any, the Communists and Fascists have in common. We know that according to the Communist party ideology ethnocentrism is frowned upon, whereas the Fascists are openly anti-semitic. But it may be that these two groups share some other qualities of the authoritarian personality. The Communists certainly appear to have a predisposition towards authoritarianism and to be greatly concerned with power relationships while favouring a regimented political life. However, these are only hypothesized attributes and they require investigation beyond that already done at present.

Not only is this of interest from a psychological point of view, it is also of interest from a sociological point of view.

During the last forty years two world wars have been fought with Germany, and within the last five years it has often seemed that a third world war with Russia was imminent. Apart from these major events many other disorders of mass-political character, less world shaking perhaps but nevertheless significant have occurred in the form of insurrections, rebellions and undeclared wars. The battle of ideas is constantly being carried beyond

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the ordinary political struggle into the sphere of political violence. As one authoritarian group goes out of the limelight of political notice, another one comes in. And although we have suppressed the Nazis or at least have temporarily divested them of their power, Nazism is by no means dead. The Nazi party still exists in England under the name of Union Movement, and in several European countries under the name of Nation Europa, besides having organizations in America and the Argentine. Evidently the Nazi ideology still appeals to enough persons so that the party is kept active.

There is no question but that part of the cause of the last upheaval in Germany was both political and economic. Nevertheless, one cannot overlook the fact that the initial success of the Nazi party was partly due to the fact that once Hitler had assumed power a large part of the population was ardently attracted to the new ideology and fanatically attached to its proclaimer. Sufficient numbers were only too willing to identify themselves with the Fuehrer's power and lose themselves in hero worship. Regardless of ethical principles involved they followed a course of blind obedience to the Leader and a policy of hatred towards racial and political minorities.

It is not suggested that Germany is the only country

that ever had a "fascist" type of government. There was Mussolini in Italy, Dollfuss and Schuschnigg in Austria and Franco in Spain. But it was in Germany that the problem of "racial" consciousness developed and resulted in anti-semitic violence. The other Fascist countries were relatively free from racial bias. Evidently anti-semitism is not a necessary concomitant of fascism, although the Fascist party in England still practise it. However, it is possible that their marches through Jewish areas have been organized with the deliberate intention of provoking anti-Fascists and getting publicity.

Germany was used as an example depicting authoritarianism in the recent past. It is by no means the only example, but perhaps it is one of the more extreme. In any case, it is not suggested that other authoritarian nations today would go to the same extreme. But it is suggested that if the Soviets or any other nation seeks to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat or their own system on a world scale, then they are showing a high measure of authoritarianism. This study is not concerned with the pros and cons of communism or any other ideology; such intricate and complex matters are left to the political economist. Russia has every right to her own form of government.

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But if the communist nations have the right to choose their own form of government, other nations must also have the same right without outside interference either by direct force or by subversive activities.

Now "subversive activities" is the label which politicians today are in the habit of attaching to the actions of citizens of their own nation whom they feel are working in the interests of a foreign power and against the interests of their own country.

It is not in the province of the politician to attempt to understand the actions of these individuals. This is the province of the social psychologist, and it has been pointed out previously that recent social-psychological studies have emphasized the relationship between personality structure and social attitudes. Adorno, in particular, has shown that authoritarian ideologies make their major appeal not to rational self-interest, but to emotional needs. Although there is an extensive body of literature on prejudice and personality, and authoritarianism and personality, no one has yet investigated the similarities and differences of authoritarians such as communists and fascists on these variables.

It is therefore, the purpose of this study to investigate the primary social attitudes in relation to some of

the personality characteristics of persons known to be tough-minded or prejudiced, or both.

The intent has not been to establish causal relations beyond those which can be hypothesized from the relationships as they are discovered to exist.

Specifically, the present investigation was designed to answer the following questions from an analysis of the data obtained from a battery of tests administered to a group of Communists and a group of Fascists, known to be active members of their respective organizations:-

- 1). Do Fascists lie in the tough-minded conservative quadrant ?
- 2). Which personality variables are related to tough-mindedness ?
- 3). Are Communists and Fascists equally tough-minded ?
- 4). Do Communists and Fascists have in common any authoritarian characteristics, viz., rigidity, intolerance of ambiguity, ethnocentrism ?

CHAPTER II.

Related Studies.

It is convenient to divide a review of the literature into four sections. The first section will cover attempts at isolating the primary social attitudes; the second will deal in the main with ethnocentrism as it is related to personality variables other than rigidity and intolerance of ambiguity; the third with intolerance of ambiguity; and the fourth with rigidity.

I. PRIMARY SOCIAL ATTITUDES.

Interest in studies of social attitudes is relatively new and it is only within the last quarter of a century that studies have been carried out using factorial techniques in an attempt to isolate the primary social attitudes.

The earliest of these studies was carried out by Thurstone (1934). He reports administering eleven attitude tests and an intelligence test to 380 university students. He extracted two factors the first of which he named radicalism-conservatism, and the second nationalism-internationalism. The results are not very clear cut and Thurstone is in doubt whether or not the conservative pole of the first factor should rather have been named religion. Copeland (1935) criticizes Thurstone's

interpretation of the first factor, and Eysenck (1944) criticizes the second. He says, "If the first factor is correctly identified as radicalism-conservatism, there are difficulties in the way of identifying the second factor as one of nationalism-internationalism. 'Internationalism' is an integral part of the radical attitude (as shown for instance by the fact that 'patriotism' had a higher saturation for the first factor in this study than it had for the second); consequently it is difficult to see how two factors related in this manner can appear entirely unrelated (orthogonal) in the analyses."

The next factorial study of interest is that of Carlson (1934) who administered five attitude tests and one intelligence test to 215 senior university students. Her first factor was one of intelligence, which is, of course, not a primary attitude; her second factor was one of radicalism-conservatism; and the third factor she calls religious. Carlson, however, expresses doubt about the naming of her factors and explains that they do not appear very meaningful to her.

Ferguson (1941) in a study using six Thurstone attitude scales on 178 university students found three factors which he called religionism, humanitarianism, and nationalism. This confirmed the results of a

11.

similar previous study, Ferguson (1939), at which time he was doubtful about the nomenclature of his factors.

A preliminary study by Johnson (1942) on 234 subjects confirmed the existence of the radicalism-conservatism factor.

One of the largest studies carried out is a recent investigation by Eysenck (1947) who administered a questionnaire of 40 items to 750 people, divided equally between the three main British political parties. The first factor is comparable to the one previously obtained by himself in 1944 which he named radicalism-conservatism (R). The second factor is the one mentioned in the introduction, tough-minded-tender-minded (T). At this time Eysenck felt that further research was needed to discern the essential nature of this T factor and a subsequent study, Eysenck (1951), was carried out. He found that while the differences between the three main political parties could be described in terms of the R factor alone, the differences between these three parties and the communist party required an additional dimension which was identified as the T factor. This placed the communists in the tough-minded radical quadrant. Since only 7 Fascists could be found, the finding that they fell in the tough-minded conservative quadrant was merely

12.

suggestive. The present study aims at a more comprehensive investigation of communists and fascists to put the above findings on a more secure foundation.

On a population of 300, Sanai (1950) used a 16 item questionnaire on political, religious and "social" attitudes and extracted three factors. His first general factor he calls progressivism vs. conservatism and considers this a better term than the usual radicalism-conservatism. His second factor is named socialism-atheism vs. "social" progressivism. The third factor is one of socialism vs. atheism. There does not appear to be any clear cut differentiation in the naming of his factors.

His test of radicalism was one of "social" radicalism not of political radicalism. Sanai (1952) says he prefers the term alterationism to radicalism and preservationism to conservatism.

In a further study by Sanai (1950-51) a questionnaire of 20 politico-economic items was given to 250 people. Two factors were extracted, one general and one bi-polar. The general factor (9) was interpreted as socialism vs. laissez-faire, and the second factor as revolutionary vs. evolutionary change. However, the items in his questionnaire were based on political points of view such as socialism, Marxist Communism, democracy, etc., in order to test the hypothesis that Marxian communism is orthogonal to the factor of

socialistically-mindedness, i.e. radicalism. Sanai suggests that the radicalism-conservatism continuum is not logical, that the communists do not fall at the extreme end of the radical scale. However, his hypothesis does not appear to be tenable judging from the saturations of the items on his first two factors.

The early studies as well as some of the later studies of primary social attitudes seem to be characterized by some ambiguity in the interpretation of the factors. The existence of the radicalism-conservatism dimension seems to be fairly well established. There is less agreement as to the nature of the second dimension. Eysenck's and Ferguson's studies both define the primary social attitudes equally well from a statistical point of view, but from a psychological point of view Eysenck's terms are preferable.

Fig. 11 shows the relationship of Eysenck's and Ferguson's dimensions in diagrammatic form. Ferguson's religionism factor links the Communists and religion; his humanitarianism factor links the Fascists and Pacifists. However, Eysenck's interpretation that the Fascists are tough-minded-conservatives; and the communists, tough-minded radicals is more plausible. The radicalism-conservatism dimension has been fairly well investigated and has correlates with external facts. Conservatives

13.a.

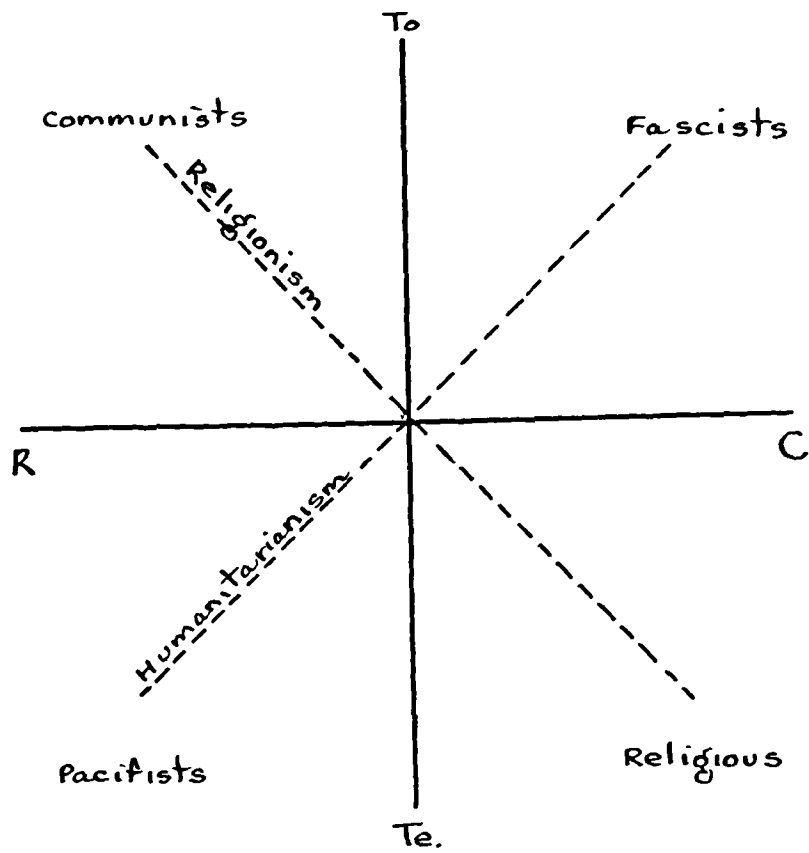


Figure 11

are not a mixture of religionism and anti-humanitarianism; and socialists are not a mixture of humanitarianism and anti-religionism as Ferguson would have it. Eysenck's terms are more meaningful as well as being more firmly anchored in general knowledge.

II. ETHNOCENTRISM AND VARIOUS PERSONALITY VARIABLES.

With the advance in the isolation of the primary social attitudes, many studies followed relating these social attitudes to various traits of personality. Many of these studies centred their attention on ethnocentrism. Innumerable books have been written on the dynamics of prejudice since World War I, and countless studies have been carried out in an effort to determine some of the underlying causes of prejudice with a view to establishing practical and effective techniques for their control and eradication. A well selected bibliography is given by Williams (1947) on studies involving racial, ethnic and religious groups in the United States.

Many studies deal with social and economic factors which may be responsible for such prejudices as anti-semitism or anti-negroism. The field relating to ethnocentrism is so vast that individual studies must be delimited in some way. Because the present study is mainly concerned with ethnocentrism as it pertains to underlying personality variables, only those studies relating to this aspect will

be reviewed.

It should be mentioned first that many studies have confirmed Hartley's (1946) observation that there is a close relationship between an individual's attitudes towards various minority groups, whether or not the individual has had actual experience with representatives of those groups.

The first study of interest is one by Frenkel - Brunswik and Sanford (1945). This was a detailed clinical study using 100 subjects. They found that subjects with high scores on an anti-semitism scale (A-S) exhibited a kind of conservative attitude, and were generally ethnocentric and more aggressive than low-scoring subjects. This data was gained from clinical interviews, the Rorschach, and the Thematic Apperception Test. A further study, Frenkel - Brunswik (1946) was carried out and validated on a second group of 140 women subjects. The 40 highest and the 40 lowest on the A-S scale were subjected to the same procedures. This confirmed and augmented the previous study.

Reichard (1948) compared the Rorschachs of a group of 15 college women who showed prejudice against various minority groups to a group of 15 non-prejudiced college women. The most significant difference between the two groups was that the prejudiced subjects showed on an

average less interest in thinking and less capacity for empathy and insight.

One of the most comprehensive studies in recent years is that of Adorno et al. (1950), which is mentioned in the introduction. This study confirmed many previous studies and stimulated further research on authoritarianism. Starting out to measure anti-semitism, they extended the scope of the study and investigated what they called the "anti-democratic" personality. They constructed scales for the measurement of anti-semitism (A-S), general ethnocentrism (E), potential fascism (F), and politico-economic conservatism (PEC). By means of these scales they differentiated between subjects high and low in authoritarianism. The extreme scorers at either end were then subjected to clinical interviews, the Thematic Apperception test, and open-ended projective questions. The authors obtained a wealth of material too complex to condense here. The findings more relevant to the present study indicated that authoritarian personalities have a tendency to be rigid, extrceptive, repressed, conforming, stereotypical in their thinking, and intolerant of ambiguity.

Although this study is a brilliant^t contribution to social attitudes, it only considers one dimension, that is, persons falling within the tough-minded conservative quadrant. Those falling within the tough-minded radical

quadrant are not considered and this leaves the picture somewhat incomplete. It is intended that the present study will remedy this defect and thus complete the picture.

A description of the authoritarian character structure is given by Maslow (1943). Other writers who dealt with authoritarianism and influenced the California writers are Fromm (1941), Erikson (1942), Chisholm (1946), and Reich (1946).

It is rather interesting to note a study reported by Hofstaetter (1952) in which he concludes there is no justification for claiming the existence of a type such as the "authoritarian" personality. He bases his conclusions on a questionnaire containing 19 items, among them six of which, he says, can be supposed to elicit either anti-Negro or anti-Jewish prejudice. The remainder was a sample of politico-economic propositions (In actual fact there were 7 not 6 items on Jews and Negroes. The seventh item was on intermarriage between Jews and Gentiles but turned out to have a low loading on the anti-semitism factor). The questionnaire was filled in by 187 respondents. A factor analysis of the items revealed five largely independent factors - I. Anti-Negroism, II. Anti-Semitism, III. National pride, IV. Puritanism, V. State-socialism.

Hofstadter's conclusion appears to be rather sweeping considering the fact that nothing whatsoever was known about the 187 respondents except that they were not Negroes. Jewish persons were not excluded and the proportion of Jews in the sample was not known. Furthermore, he states that in all probability there was a high percentage of Catholics in the sample.

A second criticism of his interpretation is that although many studies have reported a positive correlation between anti-Negro and anti-Jewish sentiments, including Adorno's, it by no means precludes the possibility of persons who are low on anti-semitism being high on anti-negro prejudice. Although Prothro (1952) found a correlation of .49 between attitudes towards Jews and Negroes he also found a high percentage of his sample were low on general ethnocentrism but high on the anti-negro scale. Prejudice is often irrational and inconsistent and is frequently focused on minority groups who happen to be predominant in the culture and close at hand. The difference in the Adorno and Hofstadter results may be due to a sampling difference and also to the fact that in California there is a high percentage of both Jewish persons and Negroes.

Levinson who constructed the California E and A-S scales points out that anti-semitism, while it is essentially

a facet of a broader ethnocentric pattern, may nevertheless have certain independent determinants of its own. Nothing so perfect as a one-to-one relationship exists between these two attitudes. Furthermore, since Hofstaetter's scale only included six items from the final E scale, it is incorrect for him to generalize from his findings to those of Adorno. At least from the data at hand, his conclusion is unwarranted.

Gough (1951) tested 271 high school seniors using the California E and F scales and a social intolerance scale. He found subjects with high E and F scores to have more hostile and conventional opinions, in general. The more anti-semitic subjects tended to be more conservative, less open-minded, more chauvinistic, and more conventional.

Sarnoff (1951) investigated personality correlates of anti-semitism in 100 Jewish male subjects using the Thematic Apperception and Sentence Completion tests. He found that Jewish anti-semites are persons who take in, rather than project outward, destructive attitudes. In other words, Jewish anti-semitism is regarded as a symptom of identification with the aggressor just as non-Jewish anti-semitism is conceived of as a symptom of projection by the aggressor in the Frenkel - Brunswick framework.

Sarnoff found his anti-semitic subjects had more negative and fewer positive attitudes towards the parents

and themselves, and to be more frequently passive in the face of interpersonal hostility.

Courtney et al. (1952) explored the authoritarian personality as found in a group of German students studying in the United States, by means of an authoritarian-equalitarian scale (A-E). The descriptive characteristics of these two groups have their origins in the theoretical analyses of Fromm (1941) and (1947), Maslow (1943), and Adorno et al (1950). The findings follow along the lines of the Adorno study and essentially confirm them. The authoritarian is more concerned with power relationships than is the equalitarian. His interest in obedience to the moral laws which provide him with a more structured universe is evinced. The authoritarian is mainly concerned with that part of reality which is of immediate psychological concern. His need for immediate satisfaction is congruent with his impatience with democratic processes. The authors feel that the A-E scale would be just as effective in predicting relevant specific attitudes for at least all people of Western culture.

In a study of personal values as factors in anti-Semitism, Evans (1952) using 169 Michigan State College students found that the more anti-semitic subjects had value patterns in order of dominance of political, economic,

religious, social, theoretical and aesthetic; whereas the low scorers on anti-semitism favoured aesthetic, social, religious, theoretical, economic and political value patterns.

Prothro (1952) using a group of 383 Louisiana adults investigated attitudes toward the Negro and to other minorities with a view to determining whether those Southerners who are anti-negro are also generally ethnocentric. He found a correlation of .49 between attitude towards the Negro and attitude towards the Jew.. This correlation is similar to the one obtained by Prothro and Jensen (1950) with 642 Louisiana college students. It is considerably lower than the .74 which Adorno found between their anti-semitism scale and the anti-negro subscale. However, Jensen points out that a large proportion of the sample was low on general ethnocentrism but definitely anti-negro. He concluded that situational and cultural factors may be of major import in shaping specific prejudices.

Bird et al (1952) tested 146 white families and found a correlation of .55 for mothers and .60 for fathers between attitudes towards Negroes and attitudes towards Jews.

Scodel and Mussen (1953) on a group of 27 high scorers and 27 low scorers on the California F scale paired a high

subject with a low subject of the same sex and instructed them to carry on a 20 minute discussion of radio, television, and movies. The purpose of the experiment was disguised from the subjects and the subjects were not previously acquainted. The authors found that the authoritarian individual was not as keenly aware of the emotional and social attitudes of others with whom he has brief and casual contact, that he tends to think of people in rigidly stereotyped categories such as ingroup or outgroup membership. His own security is dependent on his ingroup status and loss of such status is threatening. His approach to others is conventional, non-personalized, and essentially lacking in insight.

Eriksen and Eisenstein (1953) report a study on personality rigidity. They use the term "rigidity" in a dynamic or adaptive sense which is almost identical with Frenkel - Brunswik's concept of tolerance versus intolerance of ambiguity. The sample consisted of 33 male university students. The battery included a special form of the Rorschach, the Luchins arithmetic test of Einstellung rigidity, and a shortened form of the Ethnocentrism scale. The results indicate that subjects high in ethnic prejudice offer fewer recognition hypotheses to ambiguous stimuli. No significant relation was found between the Rorschach measure of rigidity and ethnic prejudice. The correlation

between ethnocentrism and problem-solving was $-.06$. This, of course, does not confirm Rokeach's study (see Section 4). The discrepancy may be due to a difference in population or to a sampling fluctuation.

III. INTOLERANCE OF AMBIGUITY.

Frenk-Brunswik. (1948) states that rigidity and intolerance of ambiguity cover related personality trends. "Tolerance vs. intolerance" of ambiguity is one of the basic variables in both the emotional and cognitive orientation of a person toward life. The individual intolerant of ambiguity tends to resort to "black-white" solutions, and to arrive at premature closure as to evaluative aspects often at the neglect of reality. He is disposed to think in rigid categories and to use dichotomies rather than continue in his evaluations. He cannot face "ambivalence" which is emotional ambiguity. Any unstructured situation precipitates emotions ranging from uneasiness to anxiety. This conflict or anxiety can be reduced by rigid dichotomization.

Frenkel-Brunswik indicates that the background of the problem of ambiguity is related to knowledge supplied by psychoanalysis in connection with the development of the concept of "ambivalence", as defined by the co-existence, in the same individual, of love - and hate - cathexis toward the same object. The reader is referred to Frenkel-

Brunswik (1940) and (1948a) for the psychoanalytical aspect of the problem in greater detail.

In the main, the Frenkel-Brunswik studies dealt with data collected from 1,500 public school children, eleven to sixteen years old. With 120 of these subjects, representing the extremes of prejudice and of freedom from prejudice, more intensive studies were conducted in terms of individual interviews and projective tests. The parents of the children interviewed were likewise visited and interviewed. These experiments are reported in Bruner and Krech (1949).

One of the first studies carried out was a memory experiment. The task was to recall a story dealing with school children's attitudes towards newcomers, stressing aggressiveness vs. friendliness and protectiveness. Of the eleven children introduced in the story only one is a Negro and one is Jewish. The high prejudiced children mentioned the Negro boy significantly more often in an unfavourable context than did the less prejudiced. The negative characteristics ascribed to him were subjective elaborations on the part of the subjects concerned, since practically no information was given about him in the story.

The negativistic tendency in the distortion of story content on the part of the highs was not limited to the

description of this particular boy with his minority status. The prejudiced children tended generally to recall a higher ratio of undesirable over desirable characteristics. On the one hand they were rigidly "stimulus-bound", yet at the same time they tended to ignore those stimulus elements which were in conflict with hypotheses once formed.

Further studies were carried out using 40 of the 120 original extreme scorers in a group of experiments in perception proper which were free of social and emotional loading.

In one experiment the subjects were shown a series of pictures of a dog which changed into a cat in transitional stages. At every stage the subjects were asked to identify the object on a given card. The prejudiced group tended to hold on longer to the first object and to respond more slowly to the changing stimuli. There was great reluctance to give up the original object about which one had felt relatively certain and a tendency not to see what did not harmonize with the first set.

In a further experiment in which one after another in a progressive series of hues was to be named, Frenkel-Brunswik states that she gained the impression that prejudiced subjects again persevere longer than the unprejudiced, in this case with a given colour term; conceive of fewer and cruder steps along the scale, or tend toward

one-dimensional rather than more complex systems of classification. The results of this experiment so far are not conclusive.

Another experiment along the general line of the dog-cat pictures was conducted. Numbers were used rather than objects, thus reducing the possibility of involvement with content. These numbers gradually emerged in a series of pictures from an ambiguous background. Two differences between the highs and the lows were significant at the 1 per cent level of confidence. One was the relatively slow recognition of numbers emerging from indistinctness, the other the relatively slow recognition of numbers changing from other numbers, by the ethnocentric group.

A further experiment related the concept of intolerance of ambiguity to a reluctance to think in terms of probabilities and a preference to escape into whatever seemed definite and therefore safe. A long series of pictures of white and Negro children was presented and the subjects were asked to state in each case, whether they were dull or bright looking. After each response, the supposedly correct answer was given by the experimenter. For half of the children 75 per cent of the whites and 25 per cent of the Negroes were designated as "bright", and the rest as "dull", and vice versa for the other half of the children. A preliminary inspection of

the data shows that the children extremely low on prejudice caught on to the probability learning situation more readily than those high on ethnocentrism; the latter tended to persist in their preconceptions, being less able to absorb the general trend of the information given.

The work of Frenkel-Brunswick is important not only for the formal principles which she has developed as underlying the concept of intolerance of ambiguity, but also because she has demonstrated a variety of possible ways of attacking the problem experimentally. Many new trends of research followed her lead, details of which are now presented.

A study by Block and Block (1951) tested the relationship of an operational manifestation of intolerance of ambiguity to ethnocentrism as measured by the California E scale. Following Sherif (1947) the autokinetic effect was utilized on 65 subjects who were requested to state what distance the light moved. Sherif found that in an ambiguous situation subjects gradually stabilized their judgements of a stimulus. Internalized norms were established which served as the frame of reference for later judgments. Individuals who establish their norms early are more intolerant of ambiguity or have a greater need to structure than individuals who establish their norms late.

The Blocks hypothesized that the more ethnocentric individuals would establish norms earlier than the less ethnocentric individuals. The results support the hypothesis. However, the relationship found, while statistically significant, is predictively weak.

Fisher (1951) studied memory changes in 74 subjects one half of whom scored high and one half low on ethnocentrism (E). The main hypothesis was that the general law of Pragnanz applies to both the more ethnocentric and the less ethnocentric people; that is, memory traces become simpler and more symmetrical unless personality and field dynamics preclude the operation of Pragnanz somewhere along the time continuum of remembering.

A further hypothesis was that the more ethnocentric person is less able to withstand the course of Pragnanz. The author says, "If simplification of a complex memory trace occurs in images of social groups, it is possible to think that a strongly ethnocentric individual might simplify a complex configuration such as an individual who belongs to a minority group Thus the minority group member fits his group, and his individual characteristics have been forgotten while the groups characteristics have become pregnant in retention".

The subjects were given a diagram to draw and after

six weeks and again in three months were asked to reproduce the diagram from memory.

It was found as hypothesized that the less ethnocentric subjects were better able to "break the gestalt" and alter the course of Pragnanz and its properties.

Exploratory studies by Klein and Schlesinger (1951) suggested to them that the ease of experiencing apparent movement depends upon one's tolerance for instability and change in the stimulus field. The authors use the term "form-boundedness" to refer to those with low tolerance for the ambiguous situation and "form-lability" to designate those who accept the compromise more freely.

They hypothesized that the range of apparent movement (Orlansky's 1940 apparatus) is an index of the person's readiness to accept a compromise solution to a task in visual organization. In other words, how well can he tolerate an unstable or ambiguous state as a solution to a perceptual problem. To test the generality of this hypothesis the Rorschach and the apparent movement test were administered to 20 subjects, who were then divided into two groups of 10 each "form-bound" or "form-labile" on the basis of their Rorschach protocols. The authors found that the form-bound group had a more restricted range on the apparent movement apparatus, and also showed less ease of projection on the Rorschach. That is, they

were less able to "project", fantasize or tamper with reality. Although the above study does not relate ethnocentrism to intolerance of ambiguity, it is of interest because it considers the relation of the person's perceptual organization to his ego organization.

O'Connor (1952) investigated the relations between abstract reasoning ability, ethnocentrism and intolerance of ambiguity. She administered a test of syllogistic reasoning, the California E scale, and Walk's (1950) unpublished 10 item questionnaire on intolerance of ambiguity to 57 undergraduate students in a class-room setting. Results of this study indicate that ethnocentrism is associated with intolerance of ambiguity; and, ethnocentric people have more difficulty in reasoning abstractly than less prejudiced people of comparable intelligence. This latter finding substantiates that of Rokeach (1951) and Kutner (1950). However, not supported is Frenkel-Brunswick's (1949) finding that the element in ethnocentrism related to poor abstract reasoning is intolerance of ambiguity. O'Connor found that intolerance of ambiguity is associated with poor ability to reason abstractly only if accompanied by ethnocentrism. In other words, concreteness in orientation and the inability to reason abstractly may be related to some aspect of ethnocentrism other than intolerance of ambiguity. However, the author suggests that possibly the hypothesis was not adequately tested by their battery

and that it should be retested using other measures.

IV. RIGIDITY.

The review of studies of intolerance of ambiguity leads us naturally into the field of rigidity. In rigid personalities normal reaction is inhibited. Because of their intolerance of ambiguity and the need to keep their environment structured they react in a rigid manner.

Rigidity is a phenomenon which we often meet in pathology, but Goldstein (1943) says that normal individuals may also exhibit rigidity under certain conditions, namely in performances beyond their capacities.

However, Rokeach (1948) Pg. 268 cites data indicating that intelligence and rigidity are not correlated.

A good review of research dealing with personality rigidity is given by Fisher (1948-49) and critiques of the concept of rigidity are given by Werner (1946) and Goldstein (1943).

After the publication of the Authoritarian Personality many studies followed relating rigidity to ethnocentrism or authoritarianism.

Some studies already cited found ethnocentric individuals to possess amongst other personality traits, some evidence of rigidity. Reichard (1948) using the Rorschach found the prejudiced subjects to have a tendency towards rigidity of behaviour, to be more inhibited and more compulsively over-meticulous. Contrary to expectations they did not show more stereotypy.

Scodel and Mussen (1953) and Courtney et al (1952) found that the authoritarians in their sample tend to think of people in rigidly stereotyped categories.

These studies all confirmed Adorno's finding that one of the most pervasive formal aspects of the personality organization of the extremely prejudiced individual was his rigidity.

Several studies have been carried out using the water jar test of Einstellung rigidity. Luchins (1942) demonstrated the effect of frequency or repetition on rigidity. He found that rigidity on critical problems could be increased experimentally by giving subjects more problems designed to establish a set. Luchins also showed that groups solving the problems under speed conditions were considerably more rigid than the groups solving the problems under normal conditions.

Rokeach (1950) also tested the hypothesis that if more time is allowed to perceive the problem, it will result in decreases in rigidity. Four experimental groups, subjected to delays of 10, 20, 30 and 60 seconds respectively, had increasing opportunities to perceive the problems presented. The hypothesis was confirmed.

Rokeach (1948) again using the Einstellung method compared two groups, of whom 27 scored high and 27 low on the California E scale. He demonstrated that high-prejudiced

individuals who are rigid in solving specific social problems also show up as rigid in solving non-social problems. He confirmed his findings in a parallel experiment using simple maps instead of the arithmetical problems.

Theoretical considerations of these earlier studies led Rokeach (1951) to the hypothesis that the attitudes of high-prejudiced individuals towards various social groups are more frequently organized in terms of concrete social objects; while the attitudes of low-prejudiced individuals are more frequently organized in terms of the abstract principles for which various groups stand.

Using the 10 item E scale of Levinson (1949), 144 subjects were asked to define 10 concepts such as Buddhism, Capitalism, Catholicism, etc. Five were religious concepts, and five were political-economic concepts. Subjects falling within the lowest prejudice quartile gave somewhat more abstract definitions, more reification definitions and less concrete definitions than did subjects falling within the remaining three quartiles. The results were statistically significant for the 10 concepts taken together, and for the five religious concepts separately.

Kutner (1950) found prejudiced subjects tend to show rigidity in problem solving. They are also less adept at forming the concept of size as a basis for grouping objects

and at reasoning deductively in problems in which there is more than one correct answer.

Also using the arithmetical technique Shrrier and Boyd (1948) report a significant multiple correlation of .556 between rigidity measures obtained by analysis of the Bender-Gestalt and the Einstellung method. This has important clinical implications for measuring rigidity objectively.

An investigation by Cowen and Thompson (1951) considered the relation between rigidity as evidenced by the Einstellung method and certain other phases of the individual's personality structure as measured by the Bell Personality Inventory, the California test of Personality, the Rorschach and ratings by judges. The sample consisted of 93 eighth grade pupils. They concluded that rigidity as contrasted with flexibility appeared to be related to limited productivity and imaginativeness, diminished resourcefulness, inability to perceive complex relationships and to integrate constructively; an inability and hesitancy to enter psychologically new situations and a tendency to "leave the field" when the going gets difficult. They concluded that rigidity is a general factor in personality organization and functioning.

Cowen (1952) using three groups of 25 subjects each, subjected each group to various degrees of psychological

stress, the assumption being that increasing stress will elicit increasing amounts of problem-solving rigidity. They concluded that the hypothesis was tenable.

Frenkel-Brunswik (1948b) in a clinical study of 80 subjects comprising 40 extremely high scorers and 40 extremely low scorers on the California E scale found that one of the scoring categories which proved differentiating in distinguishing the two extremes was that of "rigidity" vs. "flexibility". This was borne out in the use of the Rorschach and the Thematic Apperception test as well as in the clinical interviews.

Mention should be made of an early exploratory study by Stagner (1936) on Fascist attitudes. A questionnaire was devised by choosing statements from current newspaper editorials or by constructing statements which the author felt represented the core of German or Italian fascism.

The list was given to 224 college students with true-false instructions. Results on individual items showed that the pro-fascist student neither favoured a totalitarian state nor was conscious of middle-class interests. He felt antagonistic to liberal or radical measures favouring the lower classes and was nationalistic in sympathies.

A further study was carried out, Stagner (1936a), using 18 of the best items from the above mentioned preliminary scale. These were mixed with 18 buffer items. 200 students

and 400 adults filled in the questionnaire. Items were weighted for diagnostic value in scoring.

The factors of age, sex, and intelligence were not found to be significant. Among the economic factors, a curvilinear relation between family income and fascism was found, the greatest liberalism occurring among members of families receiving \$ 1000 to \$ 2000 per year.

Disapproval of Nazi Germany was so widespread that no relation to fascism was found, but approval of Soviet Russia directly followed liberal attitudes. The author warns against the danger of measuring stereotypes to which particular emotional values have been attached.

CHAPTER III.

The Population Studied and Instruments Used.

A. The Experimental Population.

There are three main groups to whom the battery of tests was administered: a control, a communist, and a fascist group. All the subjects who took part in this investigation were non-Jewish, English speaking males and members of the working-class by occupation. Information was obtained as to their age, occupation, nationality and political affiliation.

The Control Group.

The control group was made up of 97 soldiers who participated in a study at the Maudsley Hospital. Five of these were unable to do the arithmetic calculations on one of the rigidity tests, four belonged to the middle-class, one proved to be psychotic and did not complete the battery and one further subject did not complete the entire battery. These eleven were dropped from the sample. This left 86 which comprised the control group.

The ages ranged from 19 to 36 years with a mean age of 23 and a standard deviation of 2.7.

None of the control group was a member of the Communist or Fascist party. On analysis of political affiliation

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it was found that 58.14% were socialists, 17.44% conservatives, 3.49% liberal, and 20.93% were neutral politically. This is roughly representative of working-class voting behaviour, according to the British Institute of Public Opinion.

The Communist Group.

The communist group was made up of 43 male, working-class subjects, all active members of the Communist Party. Jewish persons were excluded from the sample because of the anti-semitic items in the Ethnocentrism scale which makes it invalid for Jewish subjects.

Some of the communist group were tests at the Communist holiday school during the summer. Some leads were obtained there which resulted in other members of the Party being tested. Further contacts were made through attending meetings until eventually the 43 subjects used in the investigation were obtained.

In actual fact 61 members of the party were tested, but seven of these had to be discarded because they were Jewish, and eleven because they belonged to the middle class.

Communist subjects were not available just for the asking but with some persistence enough subjects were found who cooperated willingly. Some refusals were encountered because the members did not believe in psycho-

logical testing. Subjects were told that the purpose of the investigation was to study social insight. It must be admitted that availability of subjects and anticipated cooperation played some part in their selection. For this reason the sample of communists may not be entirely representative, but it is not thought that any serious bias was introduced.

The age of the subjects ranged from 22 to 39 years, with a mean age of 26 and a standard deviation of 3.5. The mean age of this group is slightly higher than that of the control group. Eysenck (1951) found that age was only slightly correlated with either R. or T. and it is felt that the groups were matched closely enough for age.

The Fascist Group.

The fascists were the most difficult of all the groups to obtain. There was no question of having to exclude Jewish subjects, but the actual number of Fascists in the London area is not large, probably only numbering about 400 or less. At first the Fascists were very resistant to intrusion by someone with whom they were not familiar. Nearly 100 Fascist meetings were attended extending over a period of five months. During this time the writer steadily gained their confidence until eventually a sample of 46 had been tested. Three of these were female and

had to be discarded. But since they offered to be tested it was deemed advisable to do so since refusal might arouse suspicion. The real purpose of the investigation was disguised by telling the subjects that it was a study of public opinion on questions that are commonly heard discussed over the radio and read about in newspapers.

The age range of this group was 22 to 45 with a mean age of 28.6 and a standard deviation of 3.9. Their mean age is slightly above that of the Communist group.

Many hours were spent with various members of the group in a social situation, almost akin to an interview situation. Here long discussions took place and much valuable information was obtained. Although this information is of a subjective nature, it is rather interesting in itself and suggests further hypotheses which will be discussed in a later chapter.

As with the Communists, subjects were selected partially on the basis of availability and anticipated cooperation.

Nevertheless, the same criteria applied, i.e. non-Jewish males, members of the working-class and active members of the party. It is definitely felt that the subjects used form a fairly representative sample of the male members of the Fascist party in London.

The Administration of the tests.

The battery of tests was administered individually to each subject in a testing period which lasted approximately two and one half hours. The tests were always administered in the same order and included a smoking break before the administration of the Thematic Apperception Test which was the final test in the battery.

The greatest care was taken to make expression of the subjects attitudes as free and as uninhibited as possible. They were assured of complete anonymity and reassured that their names were not needed and not wanted. The subjects were told that even the investigator would not know what scores they made as the results were to be tabulated quite independently.

Murphy et al (1937) states, "If conditions of secrecy and preferably anonymity are observed, there is more reason to expect free and complete expression of attitudes through words thus freed from social pressure than from behaviours which are open to all beholders."

It seems reasonably certain that the subjects responded with a high degree of honesty on the attitude scales.

A description of the tests in the battery follows this section. A copy of each test (with the exception of the T.A.T.) and the instructions will be found in Appendix C.

The Battery of Tests.

A brief description is given below of the battery of tests and the variables selected for the investigation: Radicalism-Conservatism and Tough-minded-Tender-minded Scale*

This is a 60 item attitude scale containing 16 items measuring R and 32 items measuring T. This scale was originally constructed by Eysenck (1947) and (1951) and more recently has been lengthened and made more reliable by Melvin (1953). The scales can each be subdivided into two parallel forms of 8 and 16 items respectively, in order to obtain evidence regarding its reliability. The correlation between R. and T. is effectively equal to zero.

The subject is asked to mark the statements as follows:-

- + + if you strongly agree with the statement.
- + if you agree on the whole.
- 0 if you cannot decide for or against, or if you think the question is worded in such a way that you cannot give an answer.
- if you disagree on the whole.
- - if you strongly disagree.

The scoring key will be found in the Appendix (C). The R. scale is scored in such a way that if the subjects'

*Radicalism-Conservatism and Tough-minded-Tender-Minded will hereafter be designated by R. and T. respectively.

response agrees with the scoring key, he receives one point, if it disagrees it is disregarded. Thus, a score can range from 1 to 16. A low score indicates conservatism, a high score radicalism.

The T. scale is scored in a similar fashion with scores ranging from 1 to 32. A low score indicates tough-mindedness, and a high score tender-mindedness.

The reliabilities of the R and T scales were found by the split-half technique using the parallel forms. After correction by the Spearman-Brown formula, the coefficients of reliability were as follows:-

| | Communists. | Fascists. | Normals. |
|----|-------------|-----------|----------|
| R. | .648 | .857 | .853 |
| T. | .947 | .904 | .887 |

The California Ethnocentrism Scale (E)

This is a 20 item-attitude scale constructed by Levinson (1949) containing six items dealing with Jews, six with Negroes, and eight with other Minorities and Patriotism. As the E scale was originally drawn up in America two questions had their wording changed appropriately to suit English conditions, viz., "America" was changed to Great Britain.

The Likert (1932) method of scaling was used. There are six choices of response for each item, ranging from strong agreement (+3) to strong disagreement (-3), with no

"neutral" category. Since higher scores were intended to express increasing ethnocentrism, all responses were converted into scores in the following manner:-

| | |
|----------------|----------------|
| - 3 = 1 point | + 1 = 5 points |
| - 2 = 2 points | + 2 = 6 points |
| - 1 = 3 points | + 3 = 7 points |

Four points were assigned to a "don't know" category.

There is a shorter version of this scale, the ten item E scale. But the longer form was used in this investigation because it is more reliable and covers in a more systematic fashion various aspects of ethnocentric ideology. The reported split-half reliability of the longer form is .91.

From the 20 items, the total scores can range between 20 points (1 point on each item indicating strong anti-ethnocentrism) and 140 points (7 points on each item indicating strong ethnocentrism).

The California Fascism Scale (F).

This is a 30 item attitude scale constructed by Adorno et al (1950) to measure potential for fascism; in other words, antidemocratic tendencies. The questionnaire dealt in general with conventionalism, authoritarian submission and aggression, anti-intraception, superstition and steriotypy, power, destructiveness and cynicism.

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As in the E scale one item had its wording changed to suit English conditions.

The instructions to the subjects are identical to those of the E scale and responses are scored in the same manner.

Thus for the 30 items scores can range from 30 to 210.

Reported reliability of the F scale is .90.

Dog-Cat Test of Intolerance of Ambiguity.

This is a new perceptual test devised by the writer using a suggestion of Frenkel-Brunswik's which is reported in Bruner and Krech (1949). It is a series of eight pictures of a dog changing into a cat in transitional stages. The theory behind the test is that subjects who are intolerant of ambiguity will respond more slowly to the changing stimuli and will cling to the percept of the dog even when the picture begins to look like a cat. Persons who are intolerant of ambiguity have a need to structure their environment and in an ambiguous situation such as in this test, they should show greater reluctance to give up the original picture of the dog about which they felt relatively certain.

The instructions to the subject were:-

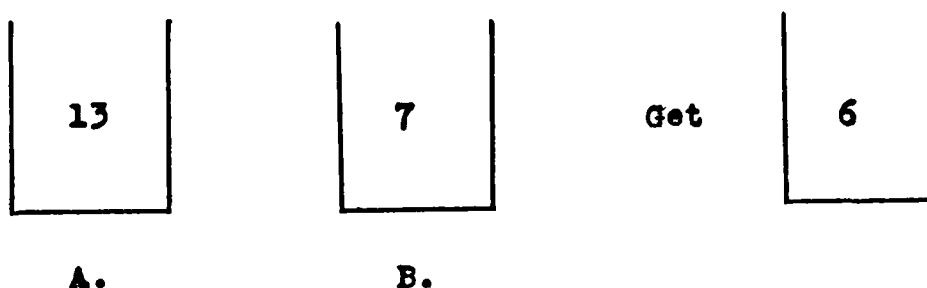
"This is a series of pictures of a dog changing into a cat. I want you to tell me when you think it is a cat." The cards were then placed in front of the subject one by

one until he said he thought it was a cat. The subject did not know how many pictures were in the series. In actual fact, card number 5 looks more like a cat than a dog, so that a subject who does not say it is a cat until card 6, 7, or 8, receives a high score indicative of intolerance of ambiguity.

The pictures are of the type found in children's magazines, but were sufficiently well drawn by the artist so that they possessed face validity. (See Appendix C).

Luchins Arithmetic Test.

This is the water jar test of Einstellung rigidity, a modification of a technique used by Luchins (1942). The subject is first given an example using two jars:-



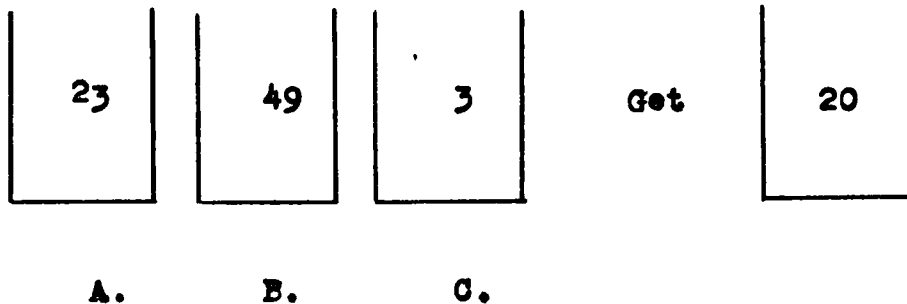
The jars when full hold exactly the number of gallons as indicated on the label. The problem is to manipulate the water from one jar to another in order to get the number of gallons in one container as indicated by the "Get

| |
|---|
| 6 |
|---|

". Thus, by filling up the jar labelled 7 from the jar labelled 13 you would have 6 gallons left in that container, i.e. $13 - 7 = 6$.

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Then follows a control problem for the subject to do himself. The control problem has three jars but the subject is told that he can use two or three, he doesn't have to use them all.



This control problem must be solved by the subject by the direct and simple method involving only one manipulation, that is, $23 - 3 = 20$.

Then follows a three jar example solvable only by the complex method, $31 - 61 - 4 - 4 = 22$ ($B - A - 2C$). Then there are two set problems solvable only by the complex method as illustrated above, and designed to establish the set. Then follow five critical problems solvable either by the same complex method used in the set problem, or by the direct and simple method involving only one manipulation. Persistence in the more complex solution in the critical problems was considered indicative of rigidity, since a simpler and more direct solution was available.

Both the simple and the complex method of solving the

problems were illustrated and subjects were told that they could use two or three jars in the solution.

The solutions of all subjects were scored with respect to two criteria - the first that there be no mathematical errors in any of the solutions; and second, that the direct and simple solution be given for the control problem. The first of these conditions was invoked so as to ensure an equal set building period for each of the subjects, that is, equal strength of set. The second criterion ensured that Einstellung solutions to the critical problems might be attributed to the set induced, rather than to an original bias toward the complicated solution. Scores ranged from 0 to 5, one point being scored for each critical problem solved by the complicated method.

Rokeach Social Maps Test.

This is a test of rigidity measured by a spacial technique rather than by an arithmetic one. It is a parallel experiment to the Luchins test described above, and was designed by Rokeach (1948). Two explanatory problems were demonstrated but no control problem was used because experiments by Rokeach showed that the use of a control problem generally prevented the later establishment of a set. To establish a set, five simple maps, all identical except for street names, were presented for 15 seconds each. Each of these maps contain a diagonal pathway which is of no help in reaching the goal. After each map was presented

the subject was asked to describe how to go from the southwest corner to the northeast corner. Then followed five critical problems identical with the previous problems, except that the diagonal pathways are usable as short-cuts in reaching the goal. Examples of these maps will be found in the Appendix (C).

The theory of rigidity behind this test is the same as for the arithmetical technique.

If the subject persists in using the long route to get from one corner to another instead of utilizing the diagonal short-cut in the critical problems, he is behaving in a rigid manner. He scores one point for each solution by the long route. Scores range from zero to five.

Rokeach (1948) quotes two studies to show that results obtained are not due to a general intelligence factor rather than to a general rigidity factor. This point will be discussed further in the chapter on Discussion of Results.

California Rigidity Test.

This is an inventory constructed by Sanford (1951) to measure rigidity in personal habits and ways of thinking about people. This questionnaire contains 22 items and the subject is asked to say whether he thinks each item is true or false. He is asked to answer the questions as truthfully as possible; there are no right or wrong answers.

Twenty-one of the questions score one point each if

answered "true", and the remaining question scores one point if answered "false". Scores range from zero to twenty-two with a high score denoting rigidity and a low score flexibility.

The reported reliability of the scale is .85.

Intolerance of Ambiguity Questionnaire.

This is a 14 item questionnaire devised by the writer. The items were such that by hypothesis and psychological experience they could be regarded as measuring intolerance of ambiguity.

These items were included in the Sanford rigidity inventory as questions 23 to 36, and thus the same instructions applied, that is, the subject was requested to say whether the item was true or false as applied to himself.

For 13 of these items a "true" answer scored one point, and on the remaining item an answer of "false" received one point. Scores ranged from 0 to 14 with a high score indicating intolerance of ambiguity.

There are no data on the reliability of this questionnaire, but four post-graduate students in psychology who were familiar with the concept of intolerance of ambiguity agreed that all items appeared to measure the concept. The test was later validated by the results of the present study.

Thematic Apperception Test.

The thematic Apperception Test (T.A.T.) developed by Morgan and Murray (1935) is a well-known projective test so that only a brief description is necessary here. The procedure is merely that of presenting a series of pictures to a subject and encouraging him to tell stories about them, inventing on the spur of the moment. These stories reveal to the trained interpreter some of the dominant drives, emotions, sentiments, complexes and conflicts of the subject's personality. Special value resides in its power to expose the underlying inhibited tendencies which the subject is not willing to admit, or cannot admit because he is unconscious of them.

In each succeeding year since the publication of this test there has been an increasing number of research studies aimed at demonstrating its reliability and validity. A few of these are Rotter (1946), Rapaport et al (1946), Rosenzweig (1949), Henry (1947), Stein (1948), and Valentine and Robin (1950).

Before the pictures are presented to the subject, he is given the following instructions:-

"This is a test of imagination, one form of intelligence. You are going to be shown a series of pictures. I want you to tell a story about each picture, telling what is happening in the picture; what events led up to it; and

how it will turn out - in other words, a complete story, the picture being an illustration to the story. You will have about five minutes for each picture. Speak your thoughts as they come to your mind. Here is the first picture."

Each of the ten cards was presented in turn and the story recorded verbatim by the investigator, using a kind of shorthand, so that every word the subject spoke was taken down. The subject was always left free to invent his own story with no suggestions or remarks from the examiner. Instructions of Murray (1943) were followed. The pictures used:-

The following ten cards were used, 4, 6 EM, 7 BM, 10, 11, 12M, 15, 16, 18 BM, and 19. Seven of these pictures contained at least one male figure which would call for a story of masculine identification. The remaining three cards, 11, 19, and 16, have no human figures. Card 11 shows a road skirting a deep chasm between high cliffs. On the road in the distance are very obscure figures. Protruding from the rocky wall on one side is the long head and neck of a dragon. Card 19 is a weird picture of cloud formation overhanging a snow-covered cabin in the country. Card 16 is the blank card.

These last three cards were selected because they are more ambiguous than the cards containing human figures. It was hoped to obtain some rating for the subject on

intolerance of ambiguity on these cards. Methods of handling the stories by each group were investigated.

It was thought that the ten pictures selected would give the maximum amount of pertinent material in approximately one hour's testing time.

The T.A.T. stories were scored according to Sanford's revised Murray need-press system. The 58 variables fall into two groups, those that represent the direction of activity of the characters within the story and those that denote environmental (personal or physical) influences that act upon these characters. The former variables (30) are termed "need" variables, the latter "press" variables (28). In a particular story, the hero's behaviour is noted by use of the proper need variable preceded by an "n". Reference to activity from external sources imposed upon the hero is noted by use of a press "p" variable. Secondary characters or central figures in the story who are openly rejected by the story-teller, and whose actions are not directed toward the hero, (the central figure) are termed "objects" and their behaviour is recorded by use of need variables, preceded by the notation "on". Similarly, environmental impositions upon these characters are referred to by use of object press "op" variables.

Each story is analyzed separately and every variable reflected in the story content is noted and given a value of 1 to 5 depending on the strength, duration, intensity

and importance in the plot of that particular variable.

There are certain basic facts which the T.A.T. is not designed to reveal and this information was obtained directly from the subject after completion of the test - age, whether his parents are dead or separated, the ages and sexes of his siblings, his vocation and his marital status.

Codes for scoring the projective protocols were developed in order to obtain scores for each subject without knowing to which group he belonged. A random selection of eighty-two of the protocols from the combined groups, were rescored by a second scorer for purposes of reliability testing. The second scorer was a highly competent post-graduate student who had personally given and scored over 100 T.A.T.'s. Slutz (1941) found interpretation of T.A.T.'s made independently by two examiners with a high percentage of agreement to be quite satisfactory and of high enough reliability for the discrimination between groups. The inter-rater agreement in the present study was consistently high ranging from 84 to 91 per cent for each of the stories.

Because some of the stories varied greatly in length, the final score was multiplied by Murray's (1943) correction factor so that the subject's relative position on the variable did not depend more on the length of the story rather than the content.

Of the 58 variables scored, 4 were selected for

statistical treatment. On 32 of the variables, there was no statistically significant difference between the means of the groups; the remaining 22 variables were either not mentioned in the stories and consequently received no score, or else were mentioned so rarely that their inclusion was not warranted.

If the purpose of the test had been individual diagnosis, all variables would be considered - but the purpose of the present study was to consider the differences between the groups and for this reason only the four variables which differentiated were selected. These variables were need and object need dominance, and need and object need aggression.

These variables were scored without subscribing to any particular theory of drives. They were considered to be attitudes or traits.

Dominance was defined as: To try to influence the behaviour, sentiments, or ideas of others. To work for an executive position. To lead, manage, govern. To coerce, or restrain.

Aggression was defined as: To hate, fight, or punish an offence. To criticize, blame, accuse, or ridicule maliciously. To injure or kill. Sadism. To fight against legally constituted authorities. To pursue, catch or imprison a criminal or enemy.

Revised T Scale.

In order to investigate the relative position of the three groups on the T scale apart from the issue of anti-semitism, the T scale was rescored omitting questions 19 and 46. Question 19 reads, "There may be a few exceptions, but in general, Jews are pretty much alike"; question 46, "Jews are as valuable citizens as any other group."

Each of these questions is included in one of the parallel forms of the scale so that the reliability of the scale remains virtually unchanged. The reliabilities of the parallel forms of the revised T scale were as follows:-

| | Communists. | Fascists | Normals. |
|-------|-------------|----------|----------|
| T_R | .930 | .891 | .871 |

Emphasis Score.

This is a score obtained by totalling for the 60 items on the R T scale the number of times the subject marks his answer either + + or - - , that is strong approval or strong disapproval. The emphasis score is a measure of a tendency to believe strongly in the correctness of the attitude held.

The odd-even method of correlation used for the reliability and corrected by the usual Spearman-Brown formula was:-

| | Communists | Fascists | Normals. |
|-----------|------------|----------|----------|
| Emphasis. | .849 | .932 | .922 |

This completes the description of the battery of tests and the variables selected for inclusion in the statistical analysis.

Although it might have been desirable, it was not feasible within the scope of the present research to administer an intelligence test to the groups. The battery took a minimum of two and one half hours to administer and with groups of this type it was necessary to keep it as short as possible. However, through the facilities of the hospital it was possible to secure data on the normal group for their intelligence test scores using the Progressive Matrices.

CHAPTER IV.

Statistical Procedures, the Data, and a Resume
of the findings.

A. Statistical Procedures.

It will be recalled that the hypotheses to be tested were (a) that Fascists lie in the tough-minded conservative quadrant, (b) that Communists and Fascists are equally tough-minded, and (c) that Communists and Fascists have some authoritarian characteristics in common. It was further proposed to investigate some of the personality variables related to tough-mindedness.

For these purposes three groups comprising Communists, Fascists and Normals were given a selected battery of tests. All responses were scored according to the manual of directions and subjected to statistical analysis in order that differences and similarities might be demonstrated.

The statistical procedures for each group were identical. After all tests had been scored, individual raw scores for each group on each variable were plotted in the form of a frequency distribution and examined for normality. The distributions were found to be sufficiently symmetrical and unimodal to warrant the assumption of normality.

An analysis of variance was performed on each of the fifteen variables. In this technique, the null hypothesis is tested that the differences in the means are due only to

chance fluctuations in random sampling. The hypothesis is rejected should the F ratio reach beyond the .05 level of significance. Means and standard deviations were computed on the three groups. The variances were homogeneous and, therefore, the total within group variance was used for the error variance in the formula for "t" tests of significance.

"t" tests were conducted on the fourteen variables with significant F ratios, between the Communist and Fascist groups, the Communist and Normal groups, and the Fascist and Normal groups.

Pearson product-moment correlations on the 15 variables were calculated for each group separately to determine the relationship between the measures. These correlations were tabled in three 15 X 15 matrices.

In order to simplify our data, reduce the variables within the battery of tests, and bring to light the main lines of classification, the technique of factor analysis was used.

A separate Thurstonian (1947) centroid analysis was carried out on each matrix of intercorrelations. For the estimation of the communality the largest correlation of the column was inserted in the diagonal cell. The inter-test correlations were factor analysed until five factors had been extracted in each group. The fifth factor residuals were then calculated.

Since the matrices were of unknown rank, five factors were extracted, although it was not deemed that the last factor would necessarily be significant. However, this last factor was extracted for rotational freedom. To test the significance of the fifth factor, the Guilford and Lacey (1947) test of significance was used. Their test is based on a comparison of the product of the two highest loadings and the S.E. of zero R, that is $1/\sqrt{N}$. If this product exceeds the S.E. of zero R, they take the factor to be significant. In all three groups the fourth factor was significant, but not the fifth factor.

Because the T scale and the revised T scale were scored in the opposite direction to the other tests, the sign of each factor loading in the rows containing T and T revised were reversed to get a positive manifold.

When the centroid factors had been extracted from the three matrices, they were orthogonally rotated into simple structure as defined by Thurstone (1947) and as summarized by Thomson (1948).

An inspection of the rotated factor matrices of the three groups showed that Thurstone's requirements for simple structure were met.

The first factor, identified as T, was rotated with each of the remaining four factors in turn in order to extract the maximum amount of variance on this factor.

61.

Further rotations were carried out making a total of eight rotations in the normal group, and six in each of the other two groups until a psychologically meaningful result as well as simple structure was obtained. These rotations can be seen in graphic form in Appendix A, Figures i, ii, and iii.

Rotation of Axes.

The T scale was the obvious reference vector for the first factor (K_1) and rotations to it were carried out as follows.

Communist Group.

- (i) K_1 with K_2 , $10^\circ 58'$ L to give K'_1 and K'_2
- (ii) K'_1 " K_3 , 9° R " " K''_1 " K'_3
- (iii) K''_1 " K_4 , $10^\circ 48'$ L " " K'''_1 " K'_4
- (iv) K'''_1 " K_5 , $3^\circ 30'$ R " " K''''_1 " K'_5

Plotting K'_2 with K'_3 suggests a rotation of $39^\circ 30'$ L to pass the axis through intolerance of ambiguity and thus obtain a psychologically meaningful result;; this, therefore, was carried out next.

- (v) K'_2 with K'_3 , $39^\circ 30'$ L to give K''_2 and K''_3

Plotting K'_4 and K'_5 and rotating 75° L also gives a psychologically meaningful result and maximizes the number of near zero loadings on K_5^2 .

(vi) K_4' with K_5' , 75° L, to give K_4'' and K_5''

Fascist Group.

(i) K_1 with K_2 , 15° R, to give K_1' and K_2'
 (ii) K_1' " K_2' , 21° R, " " K_1'' " K_2''
 (iii) K_1'' " K_2'' , 23° R, " " K_1''' " K_2'''
 (iv) K_1''' " K_2''' , 19° R, " " K_1'''' " K_2''''
 (v) K_4' " K_5' , 40° L, " " K_4'' " K_5''
 (vi) K_4'' " K_5'' , 35° L, " " K_4''' " K_5'''

Normal Group.

(i) K_1 " K_2 , 10° R, " " K_1' " K_2'
 (ii) K_1' " K_2' , 3° R, " " K_1'' " K_2''
 (iii) K_1'' " K_2'' , $26^\circ 24'$ L, " " K_1''' " K_2'''
 (iv) K_1''' " K_2''' , 12° R, " " K_1'''' " K_2''''
 (v) K_3' " K_5' , 25° L, " " K_3'' " K_5''
 (vi) K_3'' " K_5'' , $38^\circ 30'$ R, " " K_3''' " K_5'''
 (vii) K_3''' " K_5''' , 35° R, " " K_3'''' " K_5''''
 (viii) K_4' " K_5' , 36° L, " " K_4'' " K_5''

The factors in the three groups were then interpreted from the final rotated factor loadings. These loadings are plotted in graphic form and will be found in Appendix B. Following Thurstone's (1938) procedure a projection is regarded as zero if it is within the range of plus and minus .20; and for the purpose of operationally defining a factor,

greatest weight is given to those projections which are larger than .40.

B. The Data.

The results of the analyses of variance over the three groups on the fifteen variables are summarized in Table I. Tables of F ratios where the degrees of freedom are 2 and 169 as in the present instance give values of F greater than 2.99 as significant at the .05 level and values greater than 4.61 as significant at the .01 level. Fourteen of the fifteen variables had significant F ratios.

Table II. presents the results of two tailed t-tests of significance between the Communist and Fascist groups on the 14 variables with significant F ratios. With 85 degrees of freedom a "t" of 1.99 is significant at the .05 level, and a "t" of 2.64 is significant at the .01 level.

Two-tailed "t"-tests between the Communists and Normals, and the Fascists and Normals are shown in Tables III. and IV. respectively. With 128 degrees of freedom a t of 1.98 is significant at the .05 level of confidence and a t of 2.62 is significant at the .01 level.

The inter-test correlations of the Communist, Fascist, and Normal groups are given in Tables V, VI. and VII. respectively. For the Communist and Fascist groups ($N = 43$), a correlation of .296 is significant at the .05 level of confidence and a correlation of .383 is significant

at the .01 level. For the normal group ($N=86$) correlations of .211 and .275 are significant at the .05 and .01 levels respectively.

Table VIII. presents the means and standard deviations of the three groups. They have been placed in one table to facilitate comparison.

Tables IX, X, and XI. present the fifth factor residuals of the Communist, Fascist, and Normal groups respectively.

Tables XII. and XVII present the unrotated and rotated factor loadings of the Communist, Fascist and Normal groups respectively.

G. Resume of the Findings.

A brief summary of the findings is given so that the reader will have some idea of the over-all picture before going on to a detailed discussion of the results which follow in Chapter V.

Fourteen of the fifteen variables on the analyses of variance yielded significant F ratios at the .05 level or beyond. The Luchins arithmetic test of rigidity did not discriminate between the groups. The majority of the F ratios were very high; 12 out of the 15 were significant beyond the .001 level.

The Communists and Fascists were significantly different (.05) level or beyond) on the following variables:- R, T, E,

F, Rokeach social maps, emphasis, direct and indirect dominance, direct and indirect aggression. On 8 of these 10 variables the Fascists had the higher means, the exceptions were open dominance and indirect aggression.

There was no significant difference between these two groups on the dog-eat test, California rigidity inventory, intolerance of ambiguity questionnaire or the revised T scale. These results lend support to our hypothesis that Communists and Fascists have in common the authoritarian characteristics of personality rigidity, intolerance of ambiguity and tough-mindedness apart from the issue of anti-semitism.

The Fascists were found to lie in the tough-minded, conservative quadrant, and the Communists in the tough-minded radical quadrant.

The Communists and Normals were significantly different on all variables with the exception of the intolerance of ambiguity questionnaire, indirect dominance and direct aggression. The most notable finding from the comparison of these two groups was that the Communists were significantly less ethnocentric than the Normals, but significantly more fascistic and tough-minded.

The Fascists and Normals differed significantly (.01 level or beyond) in the expected direction (i.e. the Fascists had the higher means) on all variables with the exception of the Rokeach social maps and the direct dominance

variable on which there were no significant differences.

Of the 105 correlations on the 15 variables in each group, those relating to tough-mindedness are of major interest in this study. In the Communist group there was a significant correlation at the .05 level or beyond between the T scale and ethnocentrism, fascism, dog-eat test, California rigidity scale, intolerance of ambiguity questionnaire, direct and indirect dominance, and direct and indirect aggression.

In the Fascist group, T was significantly correlated with fascism, the California rigidity scale, direct and indirect dominance and open aggression.

In the Normal group, T was significantly correlated with ethnocentrism, fascism, the California rigidity scale, intolerance of ambiguity questionnaire, direct and indirect dominance, and open aggression.

The three factor analyses yielded four significant factors in each group. These were identified as tough-mindedness, rigidity, intolerance of ambiguity and aggression. In addition fifth factors in the Normals and Fascists were tentatively identified as lack of dominance and dominance respectively. The saturations on the fifth factor in the Communist group were very low and the factor was not identified.

The percentage of the variance extracted with each centroid was as follows:-

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| | K ₁ | K ₂ | K ₃ | K ₄ | K ₅ |
|-------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Communists. | 37.61 | 11.70 | 6.46 | 7.80 | .347 |
| Fascists. | 24.60 | 10.31 | 8.36 | 7.00 | 6.42 |
| Normals. | 27.63 | 7.37 | 6.86 | 7.40 | 4.23 |

The percentage of the variance extracted with each interpreted factor was as follows:-

| | I. | II. | III. | IV. | V. |
|-------------|-------|-------|------|------|------|
| Communists. | 36.90 | 10.57 | 7.26 | 1.09 | 8.20 |
| Fascists. | 22.16 | 8.89 | 8.87 | 9.10 | 7.81 |
| Normals. | 24.46 | 7.64 | 7.10 | 8.66 | 6.27 |

Correlation Matrix
Key to Variable Numbers.

1. Radical-Conservative attitude scale.
2. Tough-minded - Tender-minded scale.
3. California Ethnocentrism scale.
4. California Fascism scale.
5. Dog-cat test of intolerance of ambiguity.
6. California rigidity scale.
7. Luchins arithmetic test of rigidity.
8. Rokeach social maps test of rigidity.
9. Intolerance of ambiguity questionnaire.
10. Revised Tough-minded scale.
11. Emphasis score.
12. Direct dominance score from T.A.T.
13. Indirect dominance score from T.A.T.
14. Direct aggression score from T.A.T.
15. Indirect aggression score from T.A.T.

CHAPTER V.

Discussion of Results.

The analysis of the test results and the discussion pertaining to them is divided into four sections. Reference is occasionally made to a section not under consideration at the time, where it was felt that such a procedure would clarify the results on a particular variable. In general, the first section considers the analyses of variance and t-tests; the second section, means and standard deviations; the third section, the correlations; and the fourth section, the factor analyses.

Analyses of Variance and t-tests.

The purpose of the analysis of variance was to ascertain if there were any significant differences between the three experimental groups on the 15 variables included in our test battery. These results are shown in Table I. It will be noted that there is a significant F ratio at the .05 level or beyond on all variables, with the exception of the Luchins arithmetic test of rigidity. The lack of significance on this variable was unexpected and will be discussed in conjunction with the t-tests.

The largest F ratio (137.001) is on the California F scale which measures susceptibility to anti-democratic propaganda. The very nature of our groups would lead one to expect a significant difference on this variable.

TABLE I: **Analyses of Variance between**
The Communist, Fascist and Normal groups.

| Variable. | F | Level of significance. |
|-----------------------------|---------|---------------------------|
| 1. Radical-conservative. | 64.719 | .001 |
| 2. Tough-minded | 30.272 | .001 |
| 3. Ethnocentrism | 127.285 | .001 |
| 4. Fascism | 137.001 | .001 |
| 5. Dog-eat | 19.546 | .001 |
| 6. California rigidity | 8.651 | .001 |
| 7. Luchins arithmetic | 2.844 | not sig. |
| 8. Rokeach social maps | 5.097 | .01 |
| 9. Intolerance of ambiguity | 3.117 | .05 |
| 10. Revised Tough-minded | 36.652 | .001 |
| 11. Emphasis | 46.059 | .001 |
| 12. Direct dominance | 8.332 | .001 |
| 13. Indirect dominance | 41.109 | .001 |
| 14. Direct aggression | 43.280 | .001 |
| 15. Indirect aggression | 53.979 | .001 |

The same applies to ethnocentrism with the second highest ratio (127.285), and R with the third highest F ratio, (64.719). The size of the F ratios are interesting because they point to the very significant differences between the groups. However, in view of the fact that we know our groups are highly diverse we are more interested in just where these significant differences lie. To obtain this information t-tests of significance were carried out and the results are shown in Tables II, III, and IV.

Considering the Communists and Fascists, we find on R a difference significant at the .001 level. The communists tend to be very radical whereas the Fascists tend to be conservative in their political attitude. The normals differ significantly from the Communists in that they are less radical. It will be remembered that on analysis of political affiliation of our normal group, 58.14% were socialists and 17.44% conservatives. So that even with a majority expressing preference for a socialist form of government, they are still less radical than the Communists.

Along our R G continuum then, the Communists fall towards the extreme of the radical end, and the Fascists towards the conservative end, with the normals close to the centre but slightly towards the radical end.

On the T scale there is a difference significant beyond the .01 level between the Communists and Fascists

TABLE II: "t" tests between Communist
and Fascist groups.

| Variable. | "t" | Level of significance. |
|-----------------------------|--------|---------------------------|
| 1. Radical-conservative | 11.265 | .001 |
| 2. Tough-minded | 3.147 | .005 |
| 3. Ethnocentrism | 15.088 | .001 |
| 4. Fascism | 10.962 | .001 |
| 5. Dog-eat | 1.630 | not sig. |
| 6. California rigidity | 1.938 | not sig. |
| 7. Luchins arithmetic | - | - |
| 8. Rokeach social maps | 2.935 | .005 |
| 9. Intolerance of ambiguity | 1.513 | not sig. |
| 10. Revised Tough-minded | 1.883 | not sig. |
| 11. Emphasis | 5.874 | .001 |
| 12. Direct dominance | 2.597 | .025 |
| 13. Indirect dominance | 7.301 | .001 |
| 14. Direct aggression | 7.468 | .001 |
| 15. Indirect aggression | 2.019 | .05 |

*two-tailed test of significance.

TABLE III: "t" tests between Communists
and Normal groups.

| Variable. | "t" | Level of significance |
|-----------------------------|--------|--------------------------|
| 1. Radical-conservative | 5.298 | .001 |
| 2. Tough minded | 3.981 | .001 |
| 3. Ethnocentrism | 12.891 | .001 |
| 4. Fascism | 3.770 | .001 |
| 5. Dog-eat | 3.986 | .001 |
| 6. California rigidity | 3.564 | .001 |
| 7. Luchins arithmetic | - | - |
| 8. Rokeach social maps | 2.730 | .01 |
| 9. Intolerance of ambiguity | .740 | not sig. |
| 10. Revised Tough-minded | 5.719 | .001 |
| 11. Emphasis | 2.794 | .01 |
| 12. Direct dominance | 4.063 | .001 |
| 13. Indirect dominance | .158 | not sig. |
| 14. Direct aggression | .197 | not sig. |
| 15. Indirect aggression | 8.204 | .001 |

TABLE IV: "t" tests between Fascist and
Normal groups.

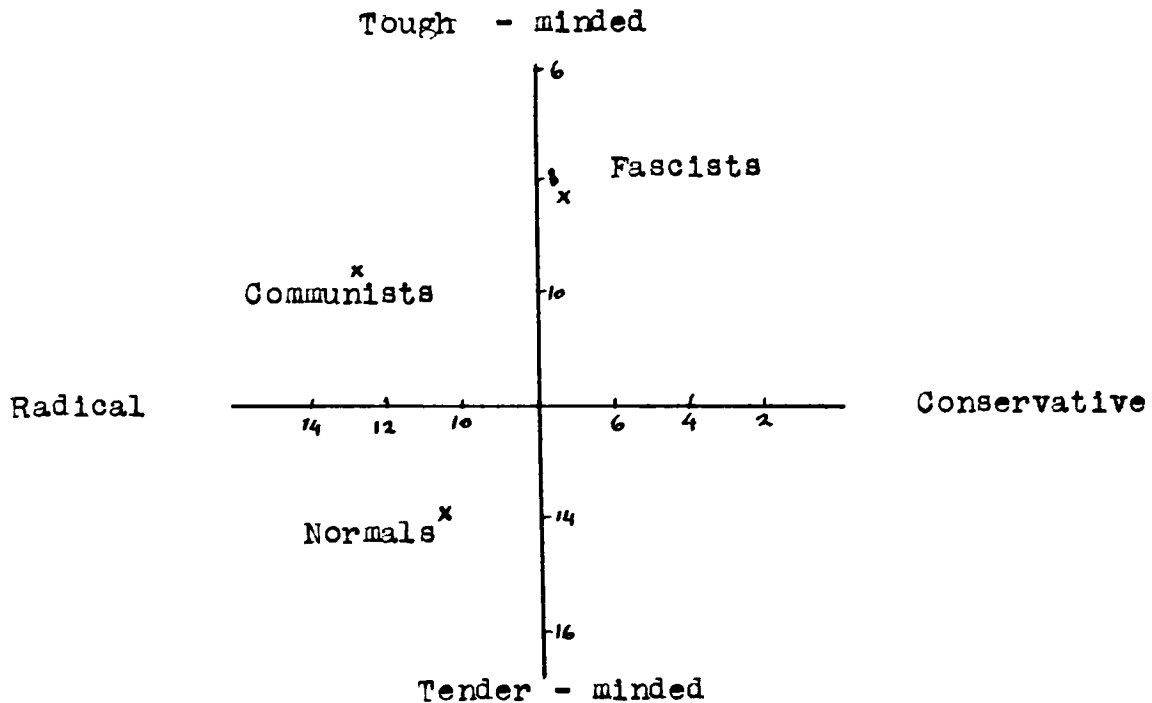
| Variable. | "t" | Level of significance. |
|-----------------------------|--------|---------------------------|
| 1. Radical-conservative | 7.704 | .001 |
| 2. Tough minded | 7.617 | .001 |
| 3. Ethnocentrism | 4.537 | .001 |
| 4. Fascism | 16.431 | .001 |
| 5. Dog-eat | 5.867 | .001 |
| 6. California rigidity | 5.894 | .001 |
| 7. Luchins arithmetic | - | - |
| 8. Rokeach social maps | .657 | not sig. |
| 9. Intolerance of ambiguity | 2.487 | .025 |
| 10. Revised Tough-minded | 7.893 | .001 |
| 11. Emphasis | 9.579 | .001 |
| 12. Direct dominance | 1.065 | not sig. |
| 13. Indirect dominance | 8.596 | .001 |
| 14. Direct aggression | 8.829 | .001 |
| 15. Indirect aggression | 6.184 | .001 |

*Two-tailed test of significance.

with the Fascists being more tough-minded. There is also a significant difference ($t = .001$) between Communists and Normals, with the Communists being more tough-minded. Along our tough-minded-tender-minded continuum then we find Fascists at the extreme end, with the Communists next in line and the Normals the least Tough-minded.

On the revised T scale it will be recalled that the two Jewish items were omitted from the original scale and the scale rescored. The purpose of this was to compare our three groups on tough-mindedness apart from the question of anti-semitism. We know that according to the communist ideology they do not believe in or practise discrimination against Jewish people. About $33\frac{1}{3}\%$ of the Communists at the Holiday School where part of the testing program was carried out, were Jewish. On the revised T scale it is found that no significant difference exists between the Communists and Fascists. Evidently they are equally tough-minded apart from the Jewish question. The Communists and Fascists are both significantly more tough-minded on both T scales than the normals.

Representing these results in convenient diagrammatic form with the abscissa representing the R factor, and the ordinate the T factor, it is evident that the Communists fall in the tough-minded radical quadrant, the Fascists in the tough-minded conservative quadrant, with the normals in the tender-minded-radical quadrant.



This confirms Eysenck's (1951) study and supports our hypothesis that Fascists lie in the tough-minded conservative quadrant.

Some of the difference between the groups on the T scale is due to their difference in attitude toward religion. There are 8 items on the T scale dealing with religion. These items are all scored in the tender-minded direction if the subject believes in religious concepts. Now the Communists follow the Marxian doctrine that religion is the "opiate of the people" and should be actively contested. The theory is a product of the communist philosophy of life and is generally in line with the anti-religious tradition of the Russian revolutionary movement.

The Church is deprived by law of the systematic teaching of children under 18 in Religion (Heckev, 1933) and while religious instruction in the home is not prohibited, few parents avail themselves of this opportunity, nor is there suitable literature for the purpose. As a consequence of this, and as one would expect, 95% of the Communist subjects disagree with 4 or more out of the 8 questions favouring organised religion and thus receive scored in the direction of tough-mindedness.

The Fascists, on the other hand, although by no means religious, tend more towards conservatism in religious matters. They are not as atheistically inclined as a group as are the Communists. The Fascist party supports the institution of positive Christianity, providing the Church in no way interferes in the internal affairs of the state. The people are left free to worship as they please. No information was requested in the personal details of the subjects as to religious affiliation. But 55% of the Fascist group replied favourably to 4 or more of the questions on religion. 95% agreed that "man can live a good enough life without religion" and disagreed with the statement "The Church should attempt to increase its influence on the life of the nation". Yet 80% agreed "the universe was created by God" and only 25% said "most religious people are hypocrites."

It would appear that the Fascists tend toward a conventionalized pattern of religion but at the same time disassociate themselves by believing that religion is not essential. There appears to be some identification with the status quo here for the sake of conformity, whereas the Communists openly reject religion. It is interesting to note here that Adorno found the factor of religious affiliation was of little importance one way or the other in determining social attitudes. There was some tendency for subjects who professed to some religious affiliation to express more prejudice than those who did not.

There was more variability within the normal group on the 8 questions on religion. They seem to be about equally divided for and against, but show less tendency to mark their answers emphatically and some of the questions were marked with a zero showing that they could not decide for or against. On the whole they were more favourably disposed to the question on religion than the other two groups.

The next variable for consideration is ethnocentrism. The California group prefer this term to that of prejudice which has numerous meanings and connotations. Ethnocentrism is conceived not as a specific attitude toward a single group but as an ideological system regarding ingroups and outgroups and their interaction. The E scale measures overtly verbalized ethnic prejudice. There are six items dealing

with Jews and six with Negroes. As was expected the Fascists are significantly more ethnocentric than either of the other two groups. What is surprising is that the Communists are significantly less ethnocentric than the normal group. This difference is significant well beyond the .001 level. There may be several explanations for this. It may be in fact that the Communists are genuinely not in the least ethnocentric. Their mean score on E, however, is considerably lower than Adorno's random sample of working-class subjects which had approximately the same mean as the normals in our sample.

There is no question but that high scores such as the Fascists receive indicate that they do hold relatively unfavourable and even rancorous attitudes towards minorities. But there is no need for the Fascists to conceal their opinions. They are openly anti-semitic; it is part of their program.

Kahn (1951) poses the question "Do attitude-measuring instruments of the kind used in the present investigation (verbalized attitudes towards the Negro) really measure prejudice qua prejudice or, rather, the 'ability' to mask prejudice? The ad hoc hypothesis that the factor of education has the effect of making possible greater facility for disguising or masking of prejudice is advanced as a possible answer to the question."

A questionnaire such as the E scale with almost unconcealed unfavourable attitudes towards minorities may cause some subjects to mask their real feelings. It may be that Communists are more aware of the propaganda value to the Party of suppressing any indication of prejudice and that they cover up their real attitude in response to the demands of the Party. Ackerman and Jahoda (1951) point out that there is a certain amount of hostility toward Jews which goes back to indoctrination by parents and teachers in early childhood. Normal amounts of anti-semitism or other attitudes exist for each subcultural stratum. These attitudes are mainly acquired by learning. This book was written in America but if one can generalize from this, it follows that Communists, too, perhaps learned some prejudicial attitudes, but in response to the Party they have either unlearned them or managed to suppress them.

It is worthy of note here that Sanford (1944) found subjects who were low on the anti-semitism (A-S) scale showed greater expressed approval of the United States Communist party than those high on the A-S scale.

However, arguments for or against the fact that the Communists as a group may be more ethnocentric than is indicated by their scores may not be of great importance, since from what one can judge their overt behaviour towards minority groups at the present time validates their low

scores on the E scale.

In the present study the situation stands that Communists are significantly less ethnocentric than either the Fascist or the normal group.

In the light of the above discussion on the E scale, the differences between the three groups on the F scale are rather interesting. Whereas the E scale contains items subscribing to more or less overt prejudice, the F scale was designed with a two-fold purpose, viz., to measure anti-democratic tendencies and to measure prejudice without appearing to have this aim and without mentioning the name of any minority group.

The difference between the Communist and Fascist groups on the F scale was significant beyond the .001 level with the Fascists having a much higher mean. The difference between the Communists and the Normals was also significant at the .001 level with the Communists having the higher mean. There was a very large difference between the Normals and the Fascists, so that on our continuum we have the Fascists at the high extreme with the Communists next in line and the Normals the least antidemocratic or potentially fascist of the three groups. The position of the Communists and Normals on the E scale is reversed on the F scale with the Normals showing the least prejudice. According to the results of the F scale the Communists do have a potential for prejudice.

The above five variables which have just been discussed are all measured by attitude scales. We now come to the personality variables, the first of which is intolerance of ambiguity.

Dog-cat.

Variables #5 and #9 are both tests of intolerance of ambiguity. From Table II. we note there is no significant difference between the Communists and Fascists on either the dog-cat test or the intolerance of ambiguity questionnaire. Of these two tests the dog-cat was the more successful in terms of our hypothesis. The Communists and Fascists were both significantly more intolerant of ambiguity than the Normals. On the questionnaire although the Communists had a slightly higher mean than the Normals the difference was not statistically significant, whereas there was a significant difference between the Fascists and the Normals.

The dog-cat test confirms Adorno's finding that persons high on the F scale tend to be intolerant of ambiguity.

It is quite possible that the intolerance of ambiguity questionnaire is a less reliable measuring instrument than the dog-cat test. It is also quite possible that they are not measuring the same concept. Despite the broadening and increasing interest in intolerance of ambiguity, the

concept is still not clearly defined. Frenkel-Brunswik (see Bruner & Krech 1951) has studied the concept most thoroughly. Her conception of intolerance of ambiguity, however, is closely akin to the concept of rigidity. If a person has low tolerance for ambiguity he behaves in a rigid manner in order to keep his environment structured and thus lessen the uncertainties in it. He also rigidly dichotomizes to lessen conflict and hence anxiety. Intolerance of ambiguity is reflected in emotional relationships as well as in perceptual relationships. The dog-cat test in this study is a test of intolerance of ambiguity in the perceptual field. But few satisfactory methods have originated for measuring this concept.

It would seem wise for psychologists who are interested to go back a step, and instead of trying to create new measuring devices, to further investigate the concept itself. Persons who are intolerant of ambiguity may manifest it in rigidity of behaviour, but there may be other methods which people use to cope with it. It may be that some react to it emotionally but others react to it rationally.

People who want their environment rationally ordered so that they can organize their thoughts about it may seek more information on the ambiguous situation, and in this case intolerance of ambiguity would not lead to anxiety. This is not the same case as where intolerance of ambiguity

generates anxiety and leads to structuring of the environment. If the ambiguous situation is one such that it cannot be solved rationally then there is a chance that structuring of the environment will take place, if the person is intolerant of ambiguity.

It is suggested that this is what took place on the dog-cat test with the Communists and Fascists and accounts for the lack of difference between Communists and Normals on the intolerance of ambiguity questionnaire.

On the dog-cat test there was no concrete data readily at hand with which to compare this situation, and no past experience with a similar situation. Nor did the subjects know how many cards were in the series, so that they had no clue as to how soon they might expect the picture to resemble a cat. Having a tendency towards intolerance of ambiguity, they held on to the familiar concept of the dog longer than was compatible with reality.

It appears to the writer that the Communist group as a whole are more accustomed to handling their intolerance of ambiguity in a rational manner whenever it is possible, whereas the Fascists more often react to intolerance of ambiguity emotionally with the consequent generation of anxiety and rigid dichotomization.

On the intolerance of ambiguity questionnaire there is a difference significant at the .01 level between the Fascists and Normals, but there is no significant difference

between the Communists and Normals.

It is by no means certain that rigidity and intolerance of ambiguity are almost interchangeable terms. In some cases it would appear that they are closely related, but in others the evidence seems to favour a more differential distribution, varying from one area to another. Further evidence of this is suggested by the low correlation between the dog-cattast and the rigidity questionnaire in all three groups. On the other hand there was a correlation of .308 (significant at the .05 level) in the Communist group between the rigidity questionnaire and the intolerance of ambiguity questionnaire. The correlation in the other two groups were positive but not significant.

Rigidity.

There were three measures of rigidity in the test battery, two were measures of Einstellung rigidity and the other was the Sanford inventory measuring rigidity of personal habit and ways of thinking about people. This last measure was the only test of rigidity to discriminate successfully between the groups. The Communists and Fascists were both significantly ($t = .001$) more rigid than the Normals, and there was no significant difference between the Communists and the Fascists. This confirms Adorno's finding that authoritarians are more rigid in their ways of thinking about people than non-authoritarians, and tend to think of them in terms of rigid dichotomies.

The Rokeach social maps test did not differentiate between the groups in the expected direction and the Luchins arithmetic test did not yield a significant F ratio and t -tests were not possible. These results were rather unexpected. When the battery of tests was being assembled the literature at hand seemed to indicate that the Einstellung method of rigidity was correlated with ethnic prejudice but was uncorrelated with either arithmetical ability or intelligence. (Rokeach 1948) and (Goldstein 1943). However, during the administration of both the Rokeach and the Luchins test, the normals appeared to have more difficulty in solving the arithmetic problems and in remembering the street names on the maps, although they had been told that they could indicate graphically how to get from one corner to another. The Communists went through all the problems much more rapidly than the other two groups. It is possible that these two tests are correlated with speed of perception. However, the performance of the Normals suggested that possibly these measures were correlated with some form of intelligence. Furthermore, the Normals were also taking part in a testing program at the Maudsley Hospital and Eysenck (1953) states "These soldiers (Normals) tend to be slightly below average on intelligence". It has been suggested that their lower intelligence as a group may be due to the fact that they are service personnel from whom officers had been creamed off.

As part of the testing program of the hospital the Normals in the present study were tested for intelligence by means of Raven's Progressive Matrices. They had a mean score of 41.87 with a standard deviation of 7.98. I.Q. equivalents ranged from 87 to 114. Pearsonian correlations were calculated between the Matrices score and the two rigidity scores. The correlation was $-.43$ with the Luchins arithmetic test, and $-.37$ with the Rokeach maps. test. Both these correlations are significant beyond the .01 level. Obviously we are dealing with more than a chance relation.

Judging by the relative time taken for the Luchins arithmetic test by each group a rough estimate of intelligence would place the Communists as the highest, followed by the Fascists, and the Normals as the lowest. This, of course, is only an approximation, but it confirmed the perceived impressions of the writer. Goldstein (1943) claims there is a "secondary" form of rigidity which does not affect all tasks but comes to the fore only when the individual is presented with tasks with which he cannot cope.

However, the difference in intelligence between the groups would not affect the results of the remaining tests, and if it did it would militate against our hypotheses and make any differences found even more significant. Adorno found that the variables related to ethnocentrism are at

best only partial components of intelligence and imperfectly related, showing a low but consistent negative correlation between intelligence and ethnocentrism. The most educated and intelligent subjects were on the average the least ethnocentric.

Correlations in the normal group between intelligence and other variables in the battery follow:-

| | |
|---------------------|---------|
| R | +.231* |
| T | +.198 |
| E | -.246* |
| F | -.282** |
| California Rigidity | +.168 |
| Emphasis | +.192 |
| Dog-cat | -.179 |
| In. of amb. ques. | +.130 |
| Direct dominance | +.201 |
| Indirect dominance | -.163 |
| Direct aggression | -.211* |
| Indirect aggression | +.261* |

*Significant at .05 level of confidence

** " " .01 " " "

On the Rekeach social maps test there was a difference significant at the .005 level between the Communists and Fascists with the Fascists showing more

rigidity; and also at the .005 level between the Communists and Normals, with the Normals showing more rigidity. There was no significant difference between the Fascists and Normals.

Evidently if any measure of Einstellung rigidity is to be used to differentiate between groups, they must be equated for intelligence. From the review of related studies it will be recalled that Einstellung rigidity is affected by time availability to perceive (Rokeach 1950), speeded conditions, (Luchins 1942), and psychological stress, Cowen (1952). This measure of rigidity may also be sensitive to the operation of other variables of which we are unaware.

Further proof that the Einstellung method is not significantly related to ethnocentrism is offered by Erikson and Eisenstein (1953). They found a correlation of $-.06$ between Luchins arithmetic test and the California E scale.

The Emphasis Score.

The Fascists were significantly ($t = .001$) more emphatic than the Communists, and they in turn were significantly ($t = .005$) more emphatic than the Normals. These results corroborate a study by Eysenck (1951) using this measure.

The present study further confirms a study of Eysenck's (1947) using an "Index of Tendency Towards Certainty", (Thouless, 1935). Here Eysenck noted a tendency for groups holding more unorthodox opinions to be more certain of their attitudes than were less unorthodox groups. In this study Eysenck hypothesized that as well as unorthodox groups, more reactionary groups would also be more certain of their opinions. This hypothesis was borne out in the present study. Communists and Fascists were both significantly more emphatic than the Normals.

Direct Dominance.

On this variable the Communists were significantly more dominant than the Fascists ($t = .001$) and also more dominant than the Normals ($t = .001$). There was no significant difference between the Fascists and the Normals. The Communists showed a distinct tendency to try to influence the ideas and actions of others. This was very evident on cards 7 EM, 4, and 12 M, where they had higher means than either of the other two groups. One might expect the Fascists who are more emphatic in their answers to attitude statements to be the more dominant. However, the writer found that the Fascists nearly always speak in a dogmatic manner as if what they are saying is true without question. But if you argue with them in a concerted manner over some point they frequently take cover and change the

subject rather than try to convert you to their way of thinking. The Communists on the other hand are more prone to stand their ground, to reiterate how wrong you are, and attempt to convert you to their way of thinking. They evince a stronger underlying belief in their ideology. At the same time, as good Party Members, there is the constant objective of widening Party membership by bringing in new recruits. The Fascists are not nearly as active in trying to get people to join their movement. They rely more on their open-air meetings for attracting new members rather than on the persuasive powers of present members.

Gough et al (1951) consider dominance to be a particularly important dimension in relation to political participation. They found that the dominant personality appears to move forward in a realistic, task-oriented fashion and manifests feelings of adequacy in meeting whatever obstacles may be encountered. This description fits the Communist group more accurately than the Fascist group. The underlying reason probably is the difference in training the two groups receive. The Communist rank and file members are thoroughly schooled in Party propaganda and are provided with stock answers to almost any question. Because of this they are more fluent and more skilful at meeting obstacles. On the other hand, the Fascist party train only certain members

who are called "speakers" or propagandists. The rank and file receive no training at expressing themselves on party policies at all. They read party literature, but attendance at meetings is not compulsory as it is with the Communists, nor is as much pressure brought to bear on them "to spread the party word". For these reasons they are less openly dominant. The Fascists do, of course, have some very skilful orators, but apart from these the majority of the members are untrained and are less prone to try to influence you with regard to their ideology.

This possibly accounts for the results of the indirect dominance variable as well. On this the Fascists were extremely high, whereas the Communists and the Normals were significantly lower and there was no significant difference between the Communists and Normals.

The Fascists showed a high tendency after having built up the "hero" to then allow some secondary figure to dominate the scene. Sometimes they had minor characters restraining the actions of the hero. It seemed as if they wanted to lead and control and dominate but were unable to take an outright forceful position even in their fantasy.

The Normals express fewer dominance-submission scenes and more often demand their autonomous rights despite parental pressures. But they are less prone to dominate in the sense of coerce.

It seems reasonably certain that the findings on these two variables are related to the actual behaviour of the Communist and Fascist groups. There is, of course, always some danger in breaking up original data and attempting to quantify variables, and still expect the data to retain its original quality. But from the writers knowledge of these two groups the T.A.T. appears to have revealed their characteristic aspects.

Aggression.

On direct aggression there was a significant difference well beyond the .001 level between the Communists and Fascists, with Fascists showing by far the greater amount of hostility. The Communists were not significantly different from the Normals.

But on the indirect aggression or object need aggression the Communists showed significantly ($t = .025$) more aggression than the Fascists. The Normals were significantly lower ($t = .001$) than either of the other two groups.

All normal persons employ direct aggression to some degree throughout life. It is one of the simplest of human reactions to threat or frustration. Indirect aggression is frequently employed also, but often the person using this method is not aware that he is, in fact, showing aggression. Spite reactions, covert maligning of someone's reputation, working against someone behind his back, martyrdom

intended to make someone else feel guilty, and many other commonplace activities are actually manifestations of indirect aggression. In less degrees these reactions are not serious. But when direct aggression persists as the preferred and immediate adjustive technique in the face of all difficulties, it verges on a serious personal maladjustment, in our culture, which can render the individual socially incompetent. The Fascist group as a whole, are extremely aggressive, almost pathologically so, and it is probably an indication of personal inadequacy and emotional immaturity.

Both the Communists and Fascists express relatively more aggression than the Normals, but the Fascists tend to be more openly aggressive and the Communists more indirectly aggressive. From the information we have on our two groups it is rather interesting to examine their aggressive tendencies in the light of Dollard's (1944) Frustration-Aggression hypothesis. In this theory the basic postulate is that aggression is always a consequence of frustration. One of the earliest lessons that human beings learn as a result of social living is to suppress and restrain their overtly aggressive reactions. However, these reaction tendencies are not destroyed but only delayed, manifested indirectly, or else displaced on some innocent source if they are not overtly expressed. Dollard says, "The strength

of inhibition of any act of aggression varies positively with the amount of punishment anticipated to be a consequence of that act. The greater the degree of inhibition specific to a more direct act of aggression, the more probable will be the occurrence of less direct acts of aggression. There is a strong tendency for inhibited aggression to be displaced to different objects and expressed in modified forms".

The Communist Party controls the lives of its members more than is customary with most political parties. Members are required to regulate their personal lives in such a manner that they will not bring discredit on the party. Thus strongly instigated acts of direct aggression are inhibited, and there is a tendency for an occurrence of less direct acts of aggression, the more subtle indirect aggression which is more socially acceptable and does not reflect upon the Party to such an extent.

On the other hand, aggression in the Fascists is vigorous and undisguised. They are both directly and indirectly aggressive. Their overtly aggressive responses are sometimes displaced and find substitute targets in out-groups, such as Jews. Here the mechanism of ordinary social control does not operate because it is socially acceptable within the party to be anti-semitic, in fact it is almost a necessity if they wish to remain secure in the

group. What is the "true" cause of frustration in these individuals cannot be guessed at but would probably need reliable case histories and extensive interviews to ascertain the underlying factors. The writer is not well enough acquainted with the subjects to identify such complex manifestations of aggression. But it appeared quite obvious that they are instantly ready to respond to any slight frustration with extreme hostility. They seem to be in constant need of some person, some idea, or some group towards whom aggression may be expressed.

Miller and Dollard's theory is a rather specific one, that aggression is always the consequence of frustration, but it undoubtedly has some basis in fact. But frustrations are often very complex and so interwoven in a persons life that identification of them is difficult. A maladjusted personality may be a source of constant frustration. This could lead to aggression as a generalized pattern at a fairly uniform level. There are also individual differences in frustration-tolerance. On the surface it would appear that the Fascists have a lower frustration-tolerance than the Communists. Communistic aggression takes the form of belittling, repreving, blaming and ridiculing others, that is, verbalized aggression. With regard to physical aggression, it takes a rather socialized form as to imprison a criminal or kill in self-defence; although frequently

aggression was rationalized when it appeared in an asocial form as to fight against legally constituted authorities or to fight against his own country. The Communists more frequently deny identification with the aggressive act.

Fascistic aggression tends to be more asocial. They do not shrink from more brutal forms of physical aggression. It is as if they have conceived it so often in their minds that they do not realize its stimulus value for arousing social disapproval.

The average mean score of the Normals on both aggression variables were much lower. Their aggressions were more socially acceptable and more often in a sublimated form. There was very little asocial physical aggression. The main difference between the Normals and the other two groups was on the intensity of expression. The Normals rated more intermediate intensities and fewer ratings at the high extreme. Very seldom were any sadistic tendencies noted.

As previously stated, cards 11 and 19 were chosen primarily because they are more ambiguous and contain no human figures, and card 16 is the blank card. The stories on these cards were scored in the usual way and the scores included in the variables already discussed.

The stories on these three cards were examined to find out if there were any apparent differences between the three groups in the method of handling the stories.

It was found that on cards 11 and 19 the Communists and Fascists gave better rounded and more complete stories than the Normals. This may be due to a need to structure the picture and impose reality on it thus changing the ambiguous card into something more concrete. The Normals complained more frequently about these two cards than the other two groups and said at first they couldn't make up a story about them, and the final stories were less organized.

On the blank card, the first reaction of nearly all subjects was the same. They turned the card over to see if there was anything on the other side and then the majority smiled. They were told: "See what you can see on this card. Imagine some picture there and then tell me a story about it."

Taking the subjects as a whole, they were about evenly divided into two groups in their responses to this card. One half tended to give stories that suggested they might be autobiographical. It was impossible to tell for certain because of the limited personal data available. The other half gave rather brief stories that suggested less projection than on the cards containing human figures.

The blank card was the last of the 16 cards in the series and by this time it was felt that the subjects were getting a little tired of the procedure. The T.A.T. was also the last test in the battery.

The only additional evidence obtained from these three cards was the suggestion that the more adequate stories on cards 11 and 19 by the Communists and Fascists might possibly be due to a need on their part to structure an ambiguous field. On the other hand, it might be a function of intelligence, but this is discounted in view of the fact that Normals gave quite satisfactory stories on these two cards.

It is definitely felt that these three cards elicited less fantasy than the cards with more definite pictures.

Examples of stories of high and low scores on dominance and aggression will be found in Appendix C.

Means and standard deviations.

The means and standard deviations of the three groups on the 15 variables are shown in Table VIII. The ratio of the difference between the means to the standard error has already been discussed in connection with the t-tests, and very little more will be said about them. There are still one or two points to be mentioned regarding the standard deviations (S.D.). There was nothing unusual regarding some of them and they will not be discussed.

Radicalism-Conservatism.

The S.D. of the Communists on this variable is much smaller than that of the other two groups showing that

TABLE VIII: Means and standard deviations on 15
variables for Communist, Fascist and Normal groups.

| Variable | Communists. | | Fascists | | Normals | |
|----------|-------------|--------|----------|--------|---------|--------|
| | Mean | | Mean | | Mean | |
| 1. | 12.977 | 1.566 | 7.698 | 2.335 | 10.826 | 2.339 |
| 2. | 11.023 | 3.363 | 8.093 | 4.070 | 14.232 | 4.811 |
| 3. | 40.419 | 17.226 | 95.581 | 6.551 | 81.221 | 20.046 |
| 4. | 94.163 | 31.869 | 159.023 | 17.481 | 74.848 | 28.964 |
| 5. | 5.814 | .957 | 6.209 | 1.146 | 4.977 | 1.188 |
| 6. | 13.837 | 4.111 | 15.372 | 3.200 | 11.488 | 3.355 |
| 7. | 3.302 | 1.521 | 3.651 | 1.132 | 3.802 | .985 |
| 8. | 3.069 | 1.317 | 3.791 | 1.059 | 3.651 | 1.026 |
| 9. | 8.046 | 1.851 | 8.813 | 2.754 | 7.721 | 2.345 |
| 10. | 9.581 | 3.320 | 7.977 | 3.807 | 13.802 | 4.281 |
| 11. | 32.884 | 3.881 | 40.884 | 4.880 | 29.590 | 7.735 |
| 12. | 8.744 | 3.401 | 7.139 | 2.722 | 6.569 | 2.624 |
| 13. | 6.488 | 3.291 | 10.791 | 2.642 | 6.407 | 2.451 |
| 14. | 6.744 | 2.279 | 11.837 | 4.625 | 6.628 | 2.585 |
| 15. | 9.348 | 2.980 | 8.209 | 3.043 | 4.721 | 2.140 |

their beliefs are fairly uniform. One would expect the S.D. of the Normals to be quite large since they are a heterogeneous group including socialists, conservatives, and a few liberals. Rather surprising is the large S.D. of the Fascists. This is probably due to lack of a well-defined system of political beliefs. More variety of opinion exists within the ranks of the party.

With the advent of the second world war one after another of the leading members of the party was rounded up and put in jail or else interned. Eventually they had to cease publication of their newspaper and the party ceased to exist, although at that time the party was very popular and claimed a million members. When the war was over the party was reorganized under a different name and the basic policy was changed to "Union of Europe" to cover an enlarged nation and an extended patriotism. Many, in fact thousands of the old members were no longer interested in the Party and a certain social stigma was attached to it because of the war. A drive was started to recruit new members and in order to attract them the old prewar policy has had to be changed somewhat and continues to change to meet changing world conditions. For these reasons their policy is not as clearly defined as the Communist policy and allows for more individuality. Members are allowed considerable freedom in the type of propaganda they use providing they stay within certain limits. This no doubt

accounts for the larger S.D. and indicates less ideological homogeneity.

Tough-minded-tender-minded.

The Normals had the largest S.D. on T which was again to be expected. Eysenck (1951) has shown that members of the working-class are more tough-minded than members of the middle-class, so it is not surprising to find our Normals a little on the tough-minded side. Nevertheless they are still significantly less tough-minded than either of the other two groups. The Fascists had a larger S.D. than the Communists indicating that although they are slightly more tough-minded on the original T scale there is more variability within the group. Comparing the S.D. of the original T scale with that of the revised scale in the Fascist group, the drop in the S.D. from 4.07 to 3.81 indicates that some of the variability within the group was due to certain members scoring in the tender-minded direction on the Jewish question.

Again, the Communists are the most cohesive group and although they are slightly less tough-minded than the Fascists on the original scale, even the top score on T could not be considered to be indicative of tender-mindedness.

Ethnocentrism.

This variable has been discussed at length previously and there is very little to add to it. The Communist S.D.

of 17.23 was considerably higher than the Fascist's 6.55, but even the majority of the top scores of the Communists were slightly lower than the lowest score of the Normals. The Fascists S.D. is extremely low showing almost complete homogeneity of opinion on ethnocentrism. The Communists are committed to a relatively unified anti-ethnocentric stand. Taking the mean score per item, the mean can vary from a possible low of 1.0 (all responses -3) to a high of 7.0 (all responses +3), with a neutral point of 4.0. The Communist mean is 40.419 and with 20 items in the scale, the mean score per item is 2.02, which is well below even the neutral point. Out of the 43 subjects there was only one real deviant with a mean per item of 5.55 and two who fell at the neutral point with an item-mean of 4.1, the remaining 41 were all very low.

Fascism Scale.

On this variable the Communists had the largest S.D. of the three groups. Evidently some of their members exhibit a much greater potentiality for antidemocratic propaganda than the Normals. This is not really surprising. The name of the scale, the "fascism" scale is really a misnomer, although it was certainly successful in predicting which of the 172 subjects in the investigation were Fascists. But the scale really measures prejudice and potentiality for antidemocratic ideology. The Fascists had a very high

mean and a small S.D. showing them to be in fairly high agreement. The Communists evidenced more variability. There was about an equal amount of scatter in the Normals.

Dog-eat.

The Communists had the lowest S.D. on this test. Their mean score was 5.81 and the S.D., .96. Scores of 6, 7, and 8 were considered to be indicative of intolerance of ambiguity. Evidently the Communists are not quite as intolerant of ambiguity as the Fascists but their scores are very uniform showing that fewer members are not intolerant of ambiguity. The Fascists have a S.D. similar to the Normals but with a higher mean. The range of scores in the Normals is lower than in the other two groups.

California Rigidity Scale.

The Communists showed more variability here but their mean score was not significantly different from the Fascists. The Fascists and Normals had an equal amount of scatter.

Intolerance of Ambiguity Questionnaire.

There was great variability in the Fascist group on this variable with some members falling at the high extreme and others at the low extreme. The Communists were more uniform. The Normals fell in the centre of the two groups with regard to S.D. but had a lower mean - but not significantly lower than the Communists.

Emphasis.

The Normals had by far the largest S.D. on this variable but this is not unexpected. Of the Communists and Fascists although the Fascists had a much higher mean, they also showed more variability. Again the Communists were the most cohesive group. A high emphasis score might be interpreted in two ways. The person may feel very strongly on the issue at hand, or it may be that he is just dogmatic. A low emphasis score may indicate that the person does not feel strongly, or has no set opinions, or it may be that he realizes that attitudes are very complex and cannot be decided on an all or nothing basis.

Dominance.

On both dominance variables the Communists had the largest S.D., while the Fascist S.D. was comparable to the Normals. The large S.D. in the Communists is probably due to a discrepancy between the training the party gives them to go out and conquer all, and individual personality traits of lack of dominance.

Aggression.

On this variable the Fascists had by far the largest S.D. Apparently there are great differences within the party, some being less aggressive than others, but relatively speaking, they were all highly aggressive; even the lowest scoring member reaching the highest scoring member of the Normals.

On direct aggression the Communists and Normals were approximately equal. Frenkel-Brunswik found those who lacked prejudice to show more open aggression than indirect aggression. They were better able to face their hostile tendencies. However, the Communists although not different from the Normals in direct aggression, showed a much higher percentage of indirect aggressive acts, and were even higher than the Fascists on this variable.

Inter-test Correlations.

The inter-test correlations of the Communist, Fascist, and Normal groups are shown in Tables V, VI, and VII, respectively. The variable which we are most interest in is tough-mindedness, and for the various correlations of the remaining variables, the reader is referred to the respective tables.

It will be recalled that a low score on the T scale indicates tough-mindedness, and a high score, tender-mindedness. This test was scored in the opposite direction to the remaining tests and for this reason a negative correlation indicates a relationship to tough-mindedness.

The R scale and the T scale were constructed so as to represent independent factors and consequently should be uncorrelated. This proved to be true in the present study. None of the three correlations between R and T was significant.

TABLE V: Inter-test correlation of Communist group.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 |
|-----|----|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1. | -- | -262 | 205 | 070 | 124 | 158 | -087 | -022 | 008 | -217 | -165 | 240 | 270 | -248 | 292 |
| 2. | -- | -- | -430 | -621 | -302 | -577 | 096 | 231 | -360 | 980 | 037 | -927 | -560 | 684 | -710 |
| 3. | -- | -- | -- | 435 | 279 | 364 | -127 | -061 | 355 | -403 | -063 | 454 | 268 | -274 | 385 |
| 4. | -- | -- | -- | -- | 255 | 708 | -091 | -100 | 350 | -582 | 128 | 596 | 487 | -499 | 518 |
| 5. | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 089 | -206 | -197 | 556 | -280 | -089 | 248 | 067 | -087 | 098 |
| 6. | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 008 | 024 | 308 | -544 | 152 | 505 | 365 | -431 | 459 |
| 7. | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 679 | -089 | 092 | 002 | -132 | 055 | -231 | 301 |
| 8. | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -119 | 241 | 118 | -171 | 085 | -105 | 151 |
| 9. | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -295 | 190 | 236 | 121 | -206 | 234 |
| 10. | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 100 | -910 | -509 | 684 | -694 |
| 11. | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -015 | -163 | 004 | -461 |
| 12. | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 641 | -681 | 679 |
| 13. | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -640 | 559 |
| 14. | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -935 |
| 15. | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |

TABLE VI: Inter-test correlations of Fascist group.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 |
|-----|----|------|-----|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1. | -- | -069 | 304 | 147 | -172 | 031 | -373 | 081 | 013 | -065 | -170 | 126 | 233 | -013 | 123 |
| 2. | -- | -- | 167 | -631 | -214 | -412 | -125 | -249 | -272 | 997 | 091 | -549 | -326 | -321 | -181 |
| 3. | -- | -- | -- | 068 | -086 | 066 | -175 | 064 | 083 | 156 | 051 | 176 | 181 | 010 | -000 |
| 4. | -- | -- | -- | -- | 206 | 555 | 150 | 454 | 177 | -655 | 210 | 632 | 352 | 281 | 311 |
| 5. | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 218 | 134 | 078 | 465 | -222 | -094 | 158 | 064 | 025 | 062 |
| 6. | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 192 | 110 | 035 | -417 | -368 | 407 | 173 | 104 | 368 |
| 7. | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 080 | -037 | -126 | 314 | -055 | -204 | 295 | 057 |
| 8. | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 195 | -267 | 023 | 289 | 210 | -107 | -167 |
| 9. | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -273 | 078 | 026 | 171 | -001 | -066 |
| 10. | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -083 | -569 | -346 | -318 | -178 |
| 11. | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 127 | 088 | 348 | 111 |
| 12. | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 679 | 068 | -259 |
| 13. | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 184 | 077 |
| 14. | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 614 |
| 15. | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |

TABLE VII: Inter-test correlations of Normal group.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 |
|--------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1. -- | -004 | 104 | -009 | 093 | 041 | 061 | -008 | -057 | 019 | -067 | -099 | -192 | -044 | 008 |
| 2. -- | -- | -470 | -429 | -147 | -474 | -202 | 133 | -392 | 995 | -059 | -670 | -515 | -373 | 093 |
| 3. -- | -- | -- | -141 | 041 | 301 | 316 | 132 | 211 | -468 | -208 | 429 | 267 | 265 | -064 |
| 4. -- | -- | -- | -- | 054 | 197 | 117 | -072 | 234 | -373 | -067 | 305 | 327 | 290 | -114 |
| 5. -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 120 | 048 | 042 | 547 | -125 | 082 | 130 | -025 | 013 | -045 |
| 6. -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 208 | 074 | 132 | -490 | 047 | 446 | 324 | 284 | -169 |
| 7. -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 433 | 128 | -184 | -110 | 090 | 153 | 096 | -012 |
| 8. -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 037 | 137 | 204 | -148 | -107 | -116 | 196 |
| 9. -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -377 | 166 | 221 | 032 | 250 | -074 |
| 10. -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -058 | -678 | -524 | -475 | 085 |
| 11. -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -169 | -355 | -049 | 016 |
| 12. -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 779 | 325 | -235 |
| 13. -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 310 | -171 |
| 14. -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -635 |
| 15. -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |

109.

The correlation between T and ethnocentrism was significant beyond the .01 level in the Communist and Normal groups, but insignificant in the Fascist group. It appears that tough-mindedness and ethnocentrism are related with the more tough-minded being the more ethnocentric.

A possible explanation for the lack of correlation in the Fascist group is that extreme ethnocentrism is practised as one of the party policies, but there is probably varying amounts of underlying hostility towards minority groups in individual members, depending on how closely they identify with the party to retain their ingroup status, and how much in contact with reality they are. Although they present a very unified stand on ethnocentrism, the more tough-minded are not more ethnocentric, because even those who are less tough-minded are extremely ethnocentric as well.

The correlations between T and the F scale in all three groups are high and significant beyond the .01 level. It seems reasonably certain that these two scales tap the same underlying syndrome. The more tough-minded show more potential for antidemocratic propaganda and more prejudice.

Perceptual intolerance of ambiguity is most closely related to T in the Communist group. The correlation of $-.302$ is significant at the .05 level. The correlations in the other two groups although in the expected direction, do not reach statistical significance.

111.

The relationship of T and the intolerance of ambiguity questionnaire is more pronounced. In the Communist and Normal groups, the correlations were significant at the .05 and .01 level respectively; in the Fascist group the significance level was .1. The results here are not clear-cut enough to allow definite conclusions. Evidently there is some relationship, most clearly shown in the Communist group. It would be desirable to set up experiments with other perceptual tasks as further test of the hypothesis.

The California Test of Rigidity was significantly correlated with the T at the .01 level in all groups. Evidently the more tough-minded do tend to be rigid in their ways of thinking about people and to think in rigid dichotomies.

Emphasis was not significantly correlated with T in any of the groups. The emphasis score seems to be more related to the amount of scatter in the group. The lack of correlation between T and emphasis is probably due to the fact that many tender-minded persons also believe strongly in the attitudes held.

Direct dominance is highly correlated with T in all groups beyond the .01 level of significance. The more tough-minded also tend to be more dominant. Indirect dominance is significantly correlated with T also, but

the correlations tend to be lower than those between T and direct dominance. It seems logical that dominance and tough-mindedness are related.

Direct aggression and T are significantly correlated in the Fascist and Normal groups. The more tough-minded tend to be more aggressive. But in the Communist group the more tough-minded are significantly less directly aggressive. Evidently the more tough-minded Communists show less direct aggression, probably because they are more closely identified with the party and inhibit any display of aggression. However, on covert aggression the correlation is extremely high and significant beyond the .001 level, whereas the correlation in the Fascist and Normal group is not statistically significant.

It is rather interesting to note here that the correlation in the Fascist group between direct and indirect aggression is significant and positive, indicating that those who are openly aggressive in this group tend also to be indirectly aggressive as well. But in the other two groups the correlation is negative; those that tend to be indirectly aggressive are not openly aggressive. Most clinicians agree that normally this is the case. The difference between the Communists and Normals lies in the high degree of indirect aggression shown by the Communists whereas the degree shown by the Normals is much lower.

TABLE XII: Unrotated factor loadings of the
Communist group.

| Test | I. | II. | III. | IV. | V. | h |
|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1. | .317 | -.074 | -.087 | -.264 | .058 | .187 |
| 2. | .924 | .179 | -.146 | .183 | -.062 | .944 |
| 3. | .525 | -.080 | .214 | .066 | .048 | .334 |
| 4. | .702 | .208 | .277 | .278 | .074 | .696 |
| 5. | .409 | -.484 | .310 | .033 | -.071 | .504 |
| 6. | .599 | .270 | .239 | .239 | .086 | .553 |
| 7. | -.201 | .635 | .310 | -.277 | -.061 | .620 |
| 8. | -.268 | .574 | .349 | -.236 | .024 | .579 |
| 9. | .427 | -.228 | .501 | .215 | -.065 | .536 |
| 10. | .904 | .191 | -.210 | .146 | -.067 | .924 |
| 11. | -.129 | .111 | .254 | .546 | .043 | .393 |
| 12. | .877 | .222 | -.203 | .155 | -.016 | .884 |
| 13. | .623 | .303 | -.125 | -.187 | .056 | .534 |
| 14. | -.712 | -.503 | -.093 | .272 | .040 | .844 |
| 15. | .775 | .365 | .147 | -.557 | -.072 | 1.070 |

TABLE XIII: **Unrotated Factor Loadings, of the**
Fascist group.

| Test | I. | II. | III. | IV. | V. | h |
|------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|
| 1. | .129 | -.285 | -.359 | -.259 | .274 | .369 |
| 2. | .782 | -.167 | -.317 | -.371 | .322 | .981 |
| 3. | .111 | -.123 | .387 | .120 | .303 | .283 |
| 4. | .828 | .075 | -.091 | .090 | .128 | .724 |
| 5. | .301 | -.093 | -.358 | .177 | .176 | .290 |
| 6. | .504 | .112 | -.280 | -.204 | .278 | .464 |
| 7. | .154 | .492 | -.367 | .276 | -.221 | .525 |
| 8. | .351 | -.220 | -.167 | .259 | .102 | .277 |
| 9. | .330 | -.308 | -.217 | .186 | .211 | .330 |
| 10. | .824 | -.137 | -.279 | -.298 | -.360 | .994 |
| 11. | .166 | .302 | .270 | .498 | -.347 | .560 |
| 12. | .642 | -.377 | .118 | .199 | -.274 | .683 |
| 13. | .547 | -.320 | .416 | .090 | -.095 | .592 |
| 14. | .471 | .538 | .280 | -.135 | -.195 | .646 |
| 15. | .354 | .600 | .185 | -.428 | .301 | .793 |

TABLE XIV: Unrotated Factor Loadings of the
Normal group.

| Test | I. | II. | III. | IV. | V. | Σ |
|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|----------|
| 1. | -.035 | .152 | .061 | .107 | -.153 | .063 |
| 2. | .851 | -.158 | -.137 | .423 | -.216 | .994 |
| 3. | .499 | .121 | .327 | .148 | -.175 | .423 |
| 4. | .462 | -.062 | -.077 | .045 | .122 | .240 |
| 5. | .230 | .366 | -.160 | .182 | .275 | .321 |
| 6. | .507 | .107 | .142 | .116 | -.224 | .352 |
| 7. | .234 | .331 | .445 | .215 | .090 | .417 |
| 8. | -.120 | .419 | .408 | .300 | .119 | .461 |
| 9. | .438 | .366 | -.358 | .297 | .366 | .676 |
| 10. | .857 | -.142 | -.138 | .351 | -.256 | .962 |
| 11. | -.140 | .202 | -.363 | .257 | -.161 | .284 |
| 12. | .804 | -.258 | .172 | -.059 | -.032 | .747 |
| 13. | .703 | -.425 | .294 | -.234 | .219 | .864 |
| 14. | .593 | .292 | -.255 | -.383 | -.244 | .708 |
| 15. | -.373 | -.283 | .153 | .576 | .190 | .610 |

TABLE XV: Rotated Factor Loadings of Communist group.

| Test | I. | II. | III. | IV. | V. | h |
|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1. | .248 | -.128 | .054 | -.012 | .325 | .187 |
| 2. | .971 | .002 | .002 | -.002 | -.003 | .943 |
| 3. | .461 | .046 | .336 | .068 | .040 | .334 |
| 4. | .711 | .301 | .254 | .152 | -.110 | .696 |
| 5. | .264 | -.201 | .626 | -.057 | .001 | .505 |
| 6. | .622 | .330 | .163 | .152 | -.087 | .553 |
| 7. | .170 | .698 | -.194 | -.133 | .222 | .621 |
| 8. | -.248 | .679 | -.143 | -.041 | .189 | .580 |
| 9. | .331 | .117 | .622 | -.003 | -.162 | .536 |
| 10. | .958 | -.028 | -.058 | -.017 | .031 | .923 |
| 11. | -.041 | .233 | .096 | .185 | -.533 | .393 |
| 12. | .936 | .000 | -.078 | .034 | .031 | .884 |
| 13. | .629 | .126 | -.128 | .011 | .325 | .534 |
| 14. | -.707 | -.414 | .061 | .103 | -.398 | .844 |
| 15. | .682 | .337 | .079 | -.209 | .665 | 1.070 |

TABLE XVI: Rotated Factor Loadings of Fascist group.

| Test | I. | II. | III. | IV. | V. | h |
|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|
| 1. | .046 | -.191 | .402 | .167 | .376 | .369 |
| 2. | .992 | -.002 | -.010 | -.002 | .004 | .984 |
| 3. | -.155 | .065 | .409 | .262 | .137 | .283 |
| 4. | .600 | .498 | .199 | .281 | .014 | .727 |
| 5. | .244 | .221 | -.222 | .364 | -.004 | .290 |
| 6. | .454 | .351 | -.093 | .126 | .331 | .463 |
| 7. | .123 | .492 | -.326 | -.192 | -.354 | .525 |
| 8. | .239 | .132 | -.017 | .435 | -.114 | .277 |
| 9. | .245 | .075 | -.064 | .511 | .015 | .331 |
| 10. | .994 | .048 | .038 | .002 | -.074 | .997 |
| 11. | -.074 | .326 | .288 | -.110 | -.595 | .561 |
| 12. | .554 | -.042 | .363 | .349 | -.349 | .684 |
| 13. | .357 | -.047 | .604 | .280 | -.139 | .592 |
| 14. | .310 | .459 | .386 | -.434 | -.053 | .647 |
| 15. | .182 | .533 | .252 | -.392 | .510 | .794 |

TABLE XVII: Rotated Factor Loadings of Normal group.

| Test | I. | II. | III. | IV. | V. | h |
|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|
| 1. | .017 | .224 | .107 | -.005 | -.036 | .063 |
| 2. | .996 | .003 | -.013 | -.015 | -.003 | .992 |
| 3. | .467 | .027 | .440 | -.085 | -.055 | .423 |
| 4. | .407 | -.205 | .004 | -.060 | .168 | .239 |
| 5. | .179 | .109 | .067 | .024 | .522 | .321 |
| 6. | .495 | .065 | .271 | -.168 | -.034 | .352 |
| 7. | .168 | .089 | .582 | .114 | .167 | .416 |
| 8. | -.113 | .278 | .515 | .268 | .187 | .462 |
| 9. | .413 | .088 | -.064 | .040 | .702 | .677 |
| 10. | .975 | -.002 | -.008 | -.093 | -.023 | .962 |
| 11. | .038 | .441 | -.269 | .032 | .124 | .285 |
| 12. | .686 | -.433 | .211 | -.194 | -.082 | .747 |
| 13. | .483 | -.745 | .232 | -.114 | -.081 | .862 |
| 14. | .374 | -.002 | .014 | -.730 | .185 | .707 |
| 15. | -.081 | .083 | -.055 | .761 | -.126 | .611 |

TABLE XVIII: Plan of significant loadings after
rotation - Communist group.

| | I. | II. | III. | IV. | V. |
|-----|------|------|------|-----|------|
| 1. | | | | | .33 |
| 2. | .97 | | | | |
| 3. | .46 | | .34 | | |
| 4. | .71 | .30 | | | |
| 5. | | | .63 | | |
| 6. | .62 | .33 | | | |
| 7. | | .70 | | | |
| 8. | | .70 | | | |
| 9. | .33 | | .62 | | |
| 10. | .96 | | | | |
| 11. | | | | | -.53 |
| 12. | .94 | | | | |
| 13. | .63 | | | | .32 |
| 14. | -.71 | -.41 | | | -.40 |
| 15. | .68 | .34 | | | .66 |

The Factor Analyses.

A separate factor analysis was carried out on each group and five factors extracted. Tables XII, XIII and XIV present the unrotated factor loadings; and Tables XV, XVI and XVII, the rotated factor loadings of the Communist, Fascist, and Normal groups respectively.

The Communist Group.

Table XV presents the loadings of the five factors which have been isolated from the correlations given in Table V. These factors have been orthogonally rotated and therefore are to be considered as independent. However, taken together they account for 64.02 per cent of the variance.

The significant loadings which emerge after the six rotations are shown in Table XVIII. For the purpose of interpretation, the three tests with the highest loadings will be employed, as a general rule.

Factor I has loadings greater than .30 on ten of the tests. The highest loadings are on T and T revised and accordingly this factor was interpreted as one of tough-mindedness. Direct dominance has a very high saturation on this factor. The T scale was used as the reference vector in rotation of this factor. It is a well-defined test and the factor is interpreted as one of tough-

mindfulness rather than dominance, since dominance is a derived score from the T.A.T. and is not a test in itself. The variables with the greatest saturations in descending order are as follows:-

| | |
|------------------------------|------|
| (2) T | .97 |
| (10) T (revised) | .96 |
| (12) Direct dominance | .94 |
| (4) F | .71 |
| (14) Direct aggression | -.71 |
| (15) Indirect aggression | .68 |
| (13) Indirect dominance | .63 |
| (6) California rigidity | .62 |
| (3) Ethnocentrism | .46 |
| (9) Intolerance of ambiguity | .33 |

The T scale is evidently a relatively pure measure of the first factor. It is also free of significant loadings on the remaining factors (see Table XVIII). The F scale, indirect aggression, indirect dominance and rigidity have fairly high saturations on this factor. Direct aggression has a negative loading. Factor I accounted for 36.90 per cent of the variance.

Factor II. was interpreted as a factor of rigidity. The loadings of other variables on this factor are quite low and direct aggression has a negative saturation.

122.

| | |
|--------------------------|------|
| (7) Luchins rigidity | .70 |
| (8) Rokeach rigidity | .70 |
| (14) Direct aggression | -.41 |
| (15) Indirect aggression | .34 |
| (6) California rigidity | .33 |
| (4) F scale | .30 |

The fact that the saturations are positive on variables 7 and 8 indicates that this is a factor of rigidity rather than of intelligence in this group. If these two variables had been measuring intelligence more than rigidity the saturations would have been negative. The percentage of variance extracted with this factor is 10.57.

Factor III. is clearly identifiable as a factor of intolerance of ambiguity. The saturations for both tests of intolerance of ambiguity are fairly high. The only other test with a significant loading on this factor is ethnocentrism and it is very small.

| | |
|------------------------------|-----|
| (5) Dog-cat | .63 |
| (9) Intolerance of ambiguity | .62 |
| (3) Ethnocentrism | .34 |

This factor accounts for 7.26 per cent of the variance.

Factor IV. had no significant loadings and was not interpreted. It only accounted for 1.09 per cent of the variance.

Factor V. is clearly a factor of indirect aggression. The emphasis variable and direct aggression have fairly high negative saturations and this appears to be logically consistent. Radicalism and indirect dominance have low saturations on this factor.

| | |
|--------------------------|------|
| (15) Indirect aggression | .66 |
| (11) Emphasis | -.53 |
| (14) Direct aggression | -.40 |
| (1) Radicalism | .33 |
| (13) Indirect dominance | .32 |

This factor accounted for 8.20 per cent of the variance.

The graphical plots of the factor loadings of the Communist group will be found in Appendix A, figure 1.

The Fascist Group.

Table XVI. presents the loadings of the five factors which have been isolated from the correlations given in Table VI. These factors have been orthogonally rotated and are considered to be independent. Taken together they account for 56.83 per cent of the variance.

The significant loadings which emerge after the six rotations are shown in Table XIX.

Factor I. has loadings greater than .30 on seven of the tests. The highest loadings are on the two T scales,

TABLE XIX: Plan of significant loadings after
rotation - Fascist group.

| | I | II. | III. | IV. | V. |
|-----|-----|-----|------|------|------|
| 1. | | | .40 | | .38 |
| 2. | .99 | | | | |
| 3. | | | .41 | | |
| 4. | .60 | .49 | | | |
| 5. | | | | .36 | |
| 6. | .45 | .35 | | | .33 |
| 7. | | .49 | -.33 | | -.35 |
| 8. | | | | .43 | |
| 9. | | | | .51 | |
| 10. | .99 | | | | |
| 11. | | .33 | | | -.59 |
| 12. | .55 | | .36 | .35 | -.35 |
| 13. | .36 | | .60 | | |
| 14. | .31 | .46 | .39 | -.43 | |
| 15. | | .53 | | -.39 | .510 |

and this factor is clearly one of tough-mindedness.

The variables with the greatest saturations in descending order are:-

| | |
|-------------------------|-----|
| (2) T. | .99 |
| (10) T (revised) | .99 |
| (4) F. | .60 |
| (12) Direct dominance | .53 |
| (6) California rigidity | .45 |
| (13) Indirect dominance | .36 |
| (14) Direct aggression | .31 |

T is a very pure measure of the first factor and is free of significant loadings on the remaining factors. The remaining tests have saturations on this factor which are logically consistent. T is related to the F scale, direct dominance and rigidity.

This factor accounted for 22.16 per cent of the variance.

Factor II. is more difficult to identify. It is tentatively interpreted as a factor of aggression-rigidity. It also has a high saturation on the F scale.

| | |
|--------------------------|-----|
| (15) Indirect aggression | .53 |
| (7) Rigidity | .49 |
| (4) F | .49 |
| (14) Direct aggression | .46 |
| (6) Rigidity | .35 |

(11) Emphasis .33

Aggression, rigidity and the F scale are all clearly related in this group and the provisional interpretation will have to stand until further research clarifies this factor.

8.89 per cent of the variance was extracted with this factor.

Factor III. was identified as a factor of dominance. Ethnocentrism has a high saturation on this factor and also radicalism.

| | |
|-------------------------|-----|
| (13) Indirect dominance | .60 |
| (3) Ethnocentrism | .41 |
| (1) Radicalism | .40 |
| (14) Direct aggression | .39 |
| (12) Direct dominance | .36 |

This factor accounted for 8.87 per cent of the variance.

Factor IV. is clearly identifiable as a factor of intolerance of ambiguity. The intolerance of ambiguity questionnaire has the highest loading and the dog-cat test also has a high saturation and was included for the interpretation of this factor. The Rokeach test of rigidity has a high saturation on this factor.

(9) Intolerance of ambiguity .51

127.

| | |
|-------------------------------|------|
| (8) Rokeach rigidity | .43 |
| (14) Direct aggression | -.43 |
| (15) Indirect aggression | -.39 |
| (5) Intolerance of am.Dog-cat | .36 |
| (12) Direct dominance | .35 |

This factor accounted for 9.10 per cent of the variance.

Factor V. is clearly a factor of indirect aggression. This factor is very similar to Factor V. in the Communist group showing a relationship between indirect aggression, a lack of emphasis and radicalism.

| | |
|--------------------------|------|
| (15) Indirect aggression | .51 |
| (11) Emphasis | -.59 |
| (1) Radicalism | .38 |
| (7) Luchins | -.35 |
| (12) Direct dominance | -.35 |
| (6) Rigidity | .33 |

Factor V. accounted for 7.81 per cent of the variance.

The Normal Group.

Table XVII. presents the loadings of the five factors which have been isolated from the correlations given in Table VII. As in the other groups, these factors have been orthogonally rotated and therefore are

TABLE XX: Plan of significant loadings after
rotation - Normal group.

| | I | II. | III. | IV. | V. |
|-----|-----|------|------|------|------|
| 1. | | | | | |
| 2. | .99 | | | | |
| 3. | .47 | | .44 | | |
| 4. | .41 | | | | |
| 5. | | | | | .522 |
| 6. | .49 | | .27 | | |
| 7. | | | .58 | | |
| 8. | | | .52 | | |
| 9. | .41 | | | | .702 |
| 10. | .98 | | | | |
| 11. | | .44 | | | |
| 12. | .69 | -.43 | | | |
| 13. | .48 | -.74 | | | |
| 14. | .37 | | | -.73 | |
| 15. | | | | .76 | |

to be considered as independent. Taken together they account for 54.13 per cent of the variance.

The significant loadings which emerge after the eight rotations are shown in Table XX.

Factor I. has loadings greater than .30 on nine of the tests. The highest loadings are on the two T scales and the factor has been identified as one of tough-mindedness. Direct dominance has the highest saturation on this factor. The variables with the greatest saturations in descending order are as follows:-

| | |
|------------------------------|-----|
| (2) T | .99 |
| (10) T (revised) | .98 |
| (12) Direct dominance | .69 |
| (6) Rigidity | .49 |
| (13) Indirect dominance | .48 |
| (3) Ethnocentrism | .47 |
| (4) F | .41 |
| (9) Intolerance of ambiguity | .41 |
| (14) Direct aggression | .37 |

T is a relatively pure measure of the first factor and is free of significant loadings on the remaining factors.

This factor accounted for 24.46 per cent of the variance.

Factor II. is obviously a factor of "lack of dominance". There is only one test with a significant loading on this factor and that is emphasis. The relationship between "lack of dominance" and emphasis does not appear logical but may be accounted for by the mechanism of compensation. If a person lacks a dominant personality he can compensate by being emphatic in his opinions. However, the saturation on emphasis is not very high; it may be due to the particular rotation.

| | |
|-------------------------|------|
| (13) Indirect dominance | -.74 |
| (11) Emphasis | .44 |
| (12) Direct dominance | -.43 |

This factor accounted for 7.64 per cent of the variance.

Factor III. has to be interpreted with a certain amount of caution since it has been shown that rigidity and intelligence are correlated in this group. However, this factor has been identified as one of rigidity. The two highest loadings are on the rigidity tests and the third test of rigidity in our battery, variable no. 6, although it has a low saturation, it is nevertheless significant and this helps to identify this factor.

| | |
|----------------------|-----|
| (7) Luchins rigidity | .58 |
| (8) Rokeach rigidity | .52 |

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| | |
|-------------------------|-----|
| (3) Ethnocentrism | .44 |
| (6) California rigidity | .27 |

This factor accounted for 7.10 per cent of the variance.

Factor IV. is obviously one of aggression. Only two tests had significant loadings and it has been shown previously that it is in accordance with clinical findings that frequently persons who are indirectly aggressive are not openly aggressive.

| | |
|--------------------------|------|
| (14) Direct aggression | -.73 |
| (15) Indirect aggression | .76 |

This factor accounted for 8.66 per cent of the variance.

Factor V. is unmistakably a factor of intolerance of ambiguity. There are only two significant loadings and they are both reasonably high.

| | |
|------------------------------|------|
| (5) Dog-cat | .522 |
| (9) Intolerance of ambiguity | .702 |

This factor accounted for 6.27 per cent of the variance.

Comparison of the Groups.

The first factor to be extracted in each group was that of tough-mindedness. The saturations were all uniformly high showing that T is a relatively pure

measure. The order of the remaining factors extracted was not always the same, but the same three factors were identified, viz., rigidity, intolerance of ambiguity, and aggression. A fifth factor of dominance was identified in the Fascist and Normal groups.

The pattern of the saturations on our T factor is quite similar in all groups. The following tests have fairly high saturations on T in each group:- Fascism, rigidity, dominance, and aggression. The aggression variable is less clear-cut than the dominance variable. In any case, these variables are all closely related to T.

The pattern of organization of attitudes is essentially the same for the three experimental groups, but the level of the variables or their relative amounts, differ.

Introversion-Extroversion.

During the course of the research it was suggested that tough-mindedness might be correlated with extroversion in the Jungian sense; the tough-minded person would tend to be extroverted, and the tender-minded person would tend to be introverted. It will be recalled that our terms tough-minded - tender-minded were adopted from William James (1911). Now James' tough-minded person corresponds to

TABLE IX: Fifth Factor Residuals of Communist group.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 |
|-----|----|------|-----|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1. | -- | -021 | 066 | -044 | -002 | 067 | -018 | 072 | -039 | 031 | 047 | 003 | 031 | 003 | -057 |
| 2. | | -- | 019 | 071 | -046 | 029 | -068 | -009 | -037 | 049 | -002 | -018 | 051 | -002 | -048 |
| 3. | | | -- | 002 | -039 | 000 | -015 | 066 | -025 | 018 | 048 | 046 | 001 | 060 | 016 |
| 4. | | | | -- | -021 | 093 | -086 | -064 | -097 | 071 | -030 | -052 | 070 | 053 | 017 |
| 5. | | | | | -- | -101 | 092 | 093 | 104 | -057 | -076 | 053 | 008 | -016 | -075 |
| 6. | | | | | | -- | -046 | 000 | -051 | 029 | 004 | -067 | -020 | 086 | 001 |
| 7. | | | | | | | -- | 088 | 043 | -070 | -019 | 008 | -022 | 051 | 021 |
| 8. | | | | | | | | -- | 004 | 000 | 058 | 045 | 077 | 088 | -031 |
| 9. | | | | | | | | | -- | -023 | 029 | -019 | 031 | -025 | 027 |
| 10. | | | | | | | | | | -- | 028 | -007 | 027 | 000 | -030 |
| 11. | | | | | | | | | | | -- | 041 | 015 | -158 | -131 |
| 12. | | | | | | | | | | | | -- | 033 | -005 | 033 |
| 13. | | | | | | | | | | | | | -- | -007 | -117 |
| 14. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | -- | -030 |
| 15. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | -- |

TABLE X: Fifth Factor Residuals of Fascist group.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 |
|-----|----|------|-----|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1. | -- | -026 | 064 | 082 | -110 | -031 | 011 | 072 | -050 | -042 | 022 | 021 | -029 | -003 | -011 |
| 2. | | -- | 008 | -041 | 027 | 038 | -002 | -014 | -031 | 015 | 012 | -007 | 021 | -019 | -001 |
| 3. | | | -- | -030 | -065 | 073 | 045 | 001 | 006 | 011 | 011 | 072 | -062 | -009 | -077 |
| 4. | | | | -- | -108 | 087 | -044 | 128 | -137 | -031 | 074 | 156 | -035 | -087 | -010 |
| 5. | | | | | -- | -037 | -007 | -172 | 189 | 023 | -046 | -015 | 019 | 091 | 100 |
| 6. | | | | | | -- | 073 | -064 | -179 | 022 | -212 | 275 | 093 | -089 | 003 |
| 7. | | | | | | | -- | 025 | -021 | 034 | 024 | -042 | -024 | 054 | -040 |
| 8. | | | | | | | | -- | -095 | -015 | -018 | -023 | 004 | -052 | -048 |
| 9. | | | | | | | | | -- | -029 | 155 | -255 | -014 | 137 | 058 |
| 10. | | | | | | | | | | -- | -085 | 019 | 040 | 028 | -000 |
| 11. | | | | | | | | | | | -- | -092 | -096 | 030 | 138 |
| 12. | | | | | | | | | | | | -- | 114 | -090 | -115 |
| 13. | | | | | | | | | | | | | -- | -025 | 066 |
| 14. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | -- | 073 |
| 15. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | -- |

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TABLE XI: Fifth Factor Residuals of Normal group.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 |
|-------|-----|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1. -- | 012 | 040 | 035 | 078 | 078 | -012 | -017 | -115 | -052 | 037 | -133 | -041 | -061 | -047 | -004 |
| 2. | -- | -008 | -022 | 031 | 018 | 018 | -044 | 010 | 019 | 021 | -016 | 013 | -036 | 012 | 003 |
| 3. | -- | -- | -043 | -045 | -067 | -067 | -003 | -015 | 085 | -005 | -109 | 006 | -056 | 031 | 054 |
| 4. | -- | -- | -- | -083 | 003 | 003 | 043 | 011 | -031 | 028 | -009 | -062 | -017 | 061 | 003 |
| 5. | -- | -- | -- | -- | 028 | -120 | -106 | 100 | 036 | -021 | 087 | -001 | -134 | 012 | |
| 6. | -- | -- | -- | -- | -014 | 024 | -030 | 007 | 081 | 042 | 047 | -023 | 004 | | |
| 7. | -- | -- | -- | -- | 064 | -033 | -039 | -022 | -073 | 028 | 077 | -040 | | | |
| 8. | -- | -- | -- | -- | -049 | -006 | 192 | 008 | 079 | 081 | 012 | | | | |
| 9. | -- | -- | -- | -- | 005 | 006 | 054 | -026 | -005 | 007 | | | | | |
| 10. | -- | -- | -- | -- | -026 | 011 | -041 | -044 | -063 | | | | | | |
| 11. | -- | -- | -- | -- | 068 | 031 | 039 | -040 | | | | | | | |
| 12. | -- | -- | -- | -- | 046 | -064 | 006 | | | | | | | | |
| 13. | -- | -- | -- | -- | 055 | 019 | | | | | | | | | |
| 14. | -- | -- | -- | -- | -025 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 15. | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | | | | | | | | | | |

Jung's (1924) extravert, and the tender-minded person to his introvert. It is true that James' expressions are very broad and it is only in their totality that they give an approximate picture of the tough-minded extrovert and the tender-minded introvert. Both categories have some characteristics in common. Even Jung says that as a rule, only careful observation and weighing of the evidence permits a sure classification of the introvert and the extrovert.

Jung noted in his mental patients a tendency for the extroverts to develop into hysterics and the introverts to develop into dysthymics. Using these two psychiatric classifications Foulds (1953) analysed the T.A.T. stories of mental patients with specially constructed scoring categories. He was able to classify these patients on the basis of their stories into hysterics and dysthymics. This classification was in close agreement with psychiatric diagnosis.

It was intended to use this method of Foulds to get ratings on the T.A.T. stories of the subjects in this investigation for introversion-extroversion. However, there are twenty pictures in a set of T.A.T. cards and Foulds' used ten of these, but unfortunately they did not coincide with the cards used in the present study.

Accordingly, it was decided to make up broad scoring categories following Jung's description of introversion-

extroversion and have the T.A.T. stories rated on these. Each of the ten stories was rated using the intensity score from one to five on the following variables:-

1. Fundamental interest in the outer or objective world (as opposed to the main interest being the inner subjective world.)
2. Materialistic values (power, prestige, possessions) as opposed to idealistic values.
3. Interested in persons and things - outgoing social participation, seek social approval as opposed to seclusiveness.
4. Irreligious as opposed to religious.
5. Extrapunitiveness as opposed to intrapunitiveness.
6. Going by facts as opposed to going by principles.
7. Sensationalistic as opposed to intellectualistic.

The scores were subject to the same correction factor as previously and the protocols were rated by the investigator and by the same judge who had previously scored the T.A.T.'s. The agreement ranged from 69% to 92% with an average of 82%.

The categories do not completely cover Jung's description but they do cover the main aspects adequately enough for the purpose, which was to get some idea of the relationship of extroversion to tough-mindedness. This was a very minor piece of the research but it was decided

to include it since the T.A.T. protocols were available.

The correlations were as follows:-

| | <u>Communists</u> | <u>Fascists.</u> | <u>Normals.</u> |
|---------------|-------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| Level of | +.301 | +.297 | +.307 |
| significance. | .05 | .05 | .01 |

The correlations are all positive and statistically significant indicating that there is a tendency for extroverts to develop tough-minded attitudes and for introverts to develop tender-minded attitudes.

The means and standard deviations of the three groups on introversion-extroversion are given below:-

| | Mean | σ |
|------------|------|----------|
| Communists | 8.78 | 2.78 |
| Fascists | 9.76 | 2.19 |
| Normals | 8.01 | 3.22 |

There is no significant difference between the Communists and Fascists ($t = 1.814$), nor are the Communists and Normals significantly different ($t = 1.40$). The Fascists, however, are significantly more extraverted than the Normals ($t = 3.72$). This difference is significant beyond the .01 level.

CHAPTER VI.

Some Subjective Impressions and Suggestions for
Future Research.

It should be emphasized first that the author is merely elaborating some of the impressions she received from contact with the experimental groups. They are subjective impressions and speculations which are not offered as conclusions or as demonstrated findings, but as hypotheses for further investigation.

Many people may have the impression that Fascism is now a dead issue and the the Fascist party is of no importance today. It is true that their numbers are small, but it is doubtful if they are getting any smaller. From all appearances, they are actually increasing. Recently, six prominent members left the party because they were not allowed any voice in the formulation of the policy of the party. One leading newspaper carried a short article concerning this, with the caption, "Mosley's party is facing collapse". However, at the present time this does not appear to be true. Their party frequently contests local elections and within the last two months one of their members was elected to the Lakes Urban District Council in the Grasmere Ward. In the earlier

part of this year one of their members ran in a Borough election and although he was not elected because the district is a Labour stronghold, nevertheless, he received more votes than the Conservative member who put up for election.

Union Movement is not the only fascistic group in England, but it is the successor to the original Fascist party of Mosley before the second world war. Mosley's party in Europe, "Nation Europa" had gained sufficient strength by early this year to cause the authorities in West Berlin to ban it as a "precautionary measure", although they claimed it had no political significance.

The most outstanding characteristic of the Fascist party is their anti-semitism. This attitude is subscribed to, on the surface, at least by all party members. But in many cases, this attitude is only a surface phenomenon. Many of the members are not anti-semitic and say as little as possible about the Jews. But other members are extremely malicious about them. One leading member of Union Movement recently left the party because he considered it was too "anti-Jewish". He joined a new organisation called "British People's Rally". Others who object to the policy of the party on this question evidently do not feel strongly enough about it to leave the party. Some of the members subscribe to the opinions of a violently anti-Jewish pamphlet entitled "Gothic Ripples", published

by the Anti-Jewish Information Bureau in Surrey, but other members object to it. Evidently there are selective factors in the individual's personality which causes him to join the party, and then he is moulded to party standards through his need to conform.

The Communists on the other hand do not practise anti-semitism. The new edition of the Soviet Encyclopaedia published in February, 1953, puts it beyond doubt that there is no "anti-semitism" in official Russia. It reports "the Jewish problem does not exist in the Soviet Union, where today Jews find the doors open to all professions".

The authoritarian personality as described by many writers and investigators appears to characterize our two groups quite accurately. However, authoritarians do not possess all the characteristics ascribed to the type generally. There are many individual differences; some of them are out and out differences, and some are just a matter of degree. For instance, the Fascists on the whole are so insecure that they react to many statements or opinions as if they were personal criticisms. Their reaction-sensitivity leads to persistent self-reference. This does not appear to be true of the Communists. These two groups should be tested for neureticism and psychetism, as it appears to the writer that the Communists tend toward

neuroticism but the Fascists towards psychotism. The Fascists definitely tend to be paranoid beyond average.

The Communists as a group make much more effort to try to impress one favourably. The Fascists have a great tendency to make derogatory statements about everyone and everything. They do not "try to win friends and influence people". They lack the poise and sophistication of many of the Communist members. They are less skilled in social discourse. If they get into an argument they more quickly become abusive than the Communists. It would be worthwhile to tests these two groups on the Rosenzweig Picture Frustration test to see how they differ.

Both groups seem to favour a regimented political life. They probably achieve a pseudo-security through routine, order, and discipline. Some of this need to identify with authority may go back to parent-child interaction and the emotional atmosphere which pervaded the home. The relationship may have developed as a result of the "needs" of the particular individual which were not satisfied. Intensive clinical interviews would be necessary to obtain information of this kind, and with groups of the type used in this study, it would be almost impossible.

However, any future research should include tests of intelligence, and probably of suggestibility. Further studies should be carried out comparing working-class and

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and middle-class Communists; Jewish Communists could be tested on prejudice using Sarnoff's Jewish anti-semitism scale.

Obviously these groups need to be investigated much more thoroughly as many aspects of their personality are as yet untouched. Testing of further hypotheses would broaden our understanding of the inter-relationships between personality and political ideology.

It is important to understand these groups, because it is possible that besides an antidemocratic potential, they may have a democratic potential, which might, if supported and strengthened, gain the upper hand.

CHAPTER VII.

Summary and Conclusions.

Because certain groups advocate methods of violence and suppression as techniques for gaining control of others, it has become of paramount importance to ascertain why certain individuals identify themselves with these groups and thus contribute to their success. Many studies have attempted to evaluate that which has become known as the "authoritarian personality". One of the outstanding characteristics of this type of personality is a high degree of prejudice. Many theories have been advanced in an attempt to account adequately for the differences that have been shown to exist between the high and the low in prejudice. The majority of investigators have used as their criterion group persons who have obtained high scores on scales of ethnocentrism, anti-semitism, or authoritarianism. The present investigation proposed a different approach. The criterion was active membership in a political party considered to be authoritarian. Two political parties were selected, viz., the Communist Party, and the Fascist Party. The purpose of the experiment was to test experimentally the similarities and differences on the primary social attitudes and certain personality variables between members of these two groups.

Specifically the investigation was designed to ascertain

if Communists and Fascists have in common any authoritarian characteristics, viz., tough-mindedness, rigidity, intolerance of ambiguity, ethnocentrism.

In order to test the hypothesis a battery of 15 tests was administered to a group of 43 Communists, 43 Fascists, and a control group of 86 with mixed political affiliations. All responses were scored according to the various manuals of directions and subjected to statistical analysis in order that differences and similarities might be demonstrated.

The results of the experiment lend support to the hypothesis that Communists and Fascists share some authoritarian characteristics. The major findings are as follows:-

1. The Fascists lie in the tough-minded conservative quadrant; the Communists in the tough-minded radical quadrant.
2. The Fascists tend to be extremely ethnocentric, whereas the Communists are very anti-ethnocentric.
3. Communists and Fascists are equally tough-minded apart from the issue of anti-semitism.
4. The Fascists are significantly more antidemocratic than the Communists. The Communists in turn, are significantly more antidemocratic than the Normals.
5. There is no significant difference between the Communists and Fascists on intolerance of ambiguity,

rigidity of personal habits and ways of thinking about people.

6. The Communists are significantly more directly dominant than the Fascists; the Fascists are significantly more indirectly dominant than the Communists.

7. The Fascists are significantly more directly aggressive than the Communists; the Communists are significantly more indirectly aggressive than the Fascists.

Four factors were identified in each group as tough-mindedness, rigidity, intolerance of ambiguity and aggression. In addition a fifth factor of dominance was identified in the Fascist and Normal groups.

It was concluded that the same pattern of attitudes was operative in the three groups, but the groups differ as to the relative intensity of the attitudes held.

The results of the investigation are capable of generalization to similar groups who are members of the working-class. Generalization to a different culture would not be warranted.

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APPENDIX A.

Rotations.

Fig. i The six rotations of the Communist group.

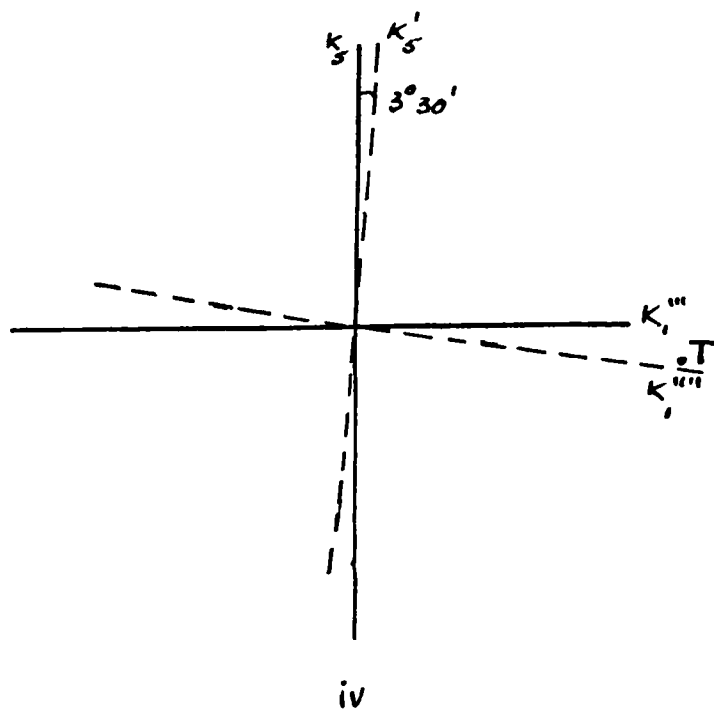
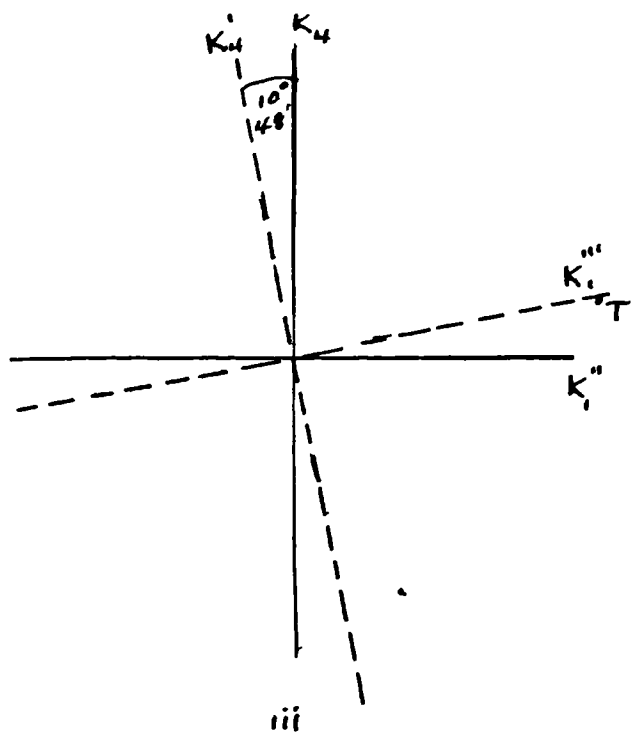
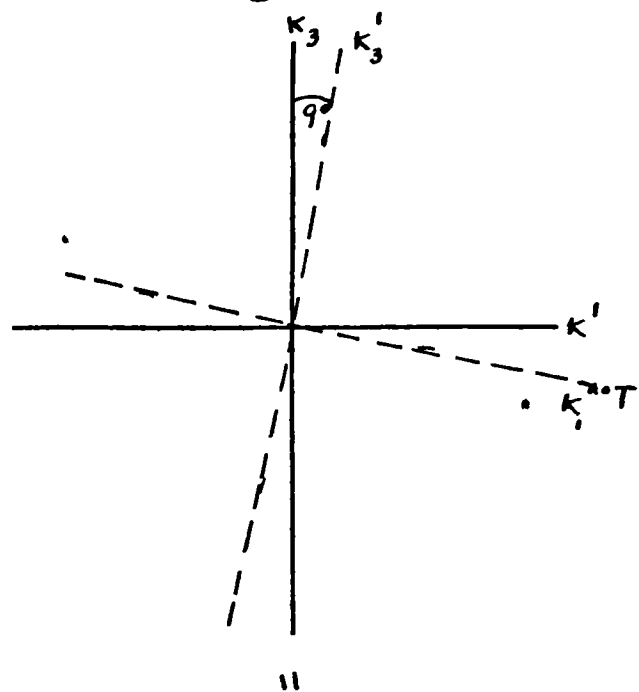
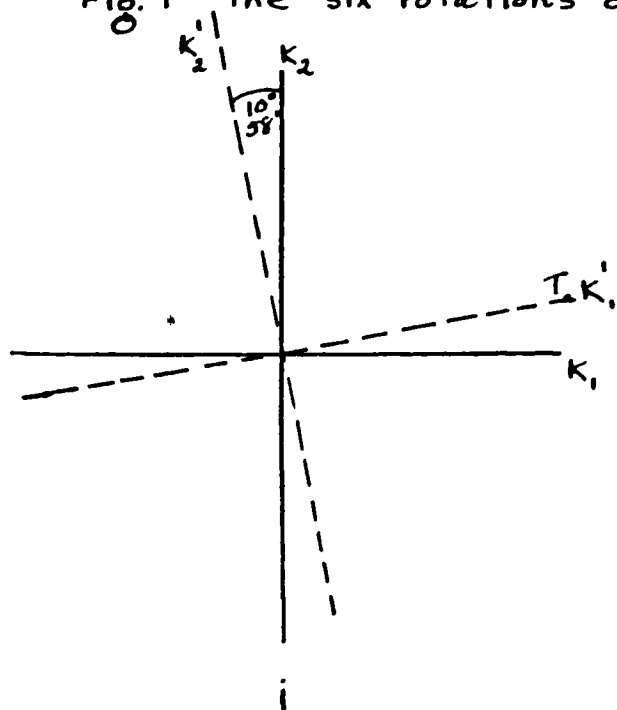


Fig. 1 cont'd. - The six rotations of the Communist group.

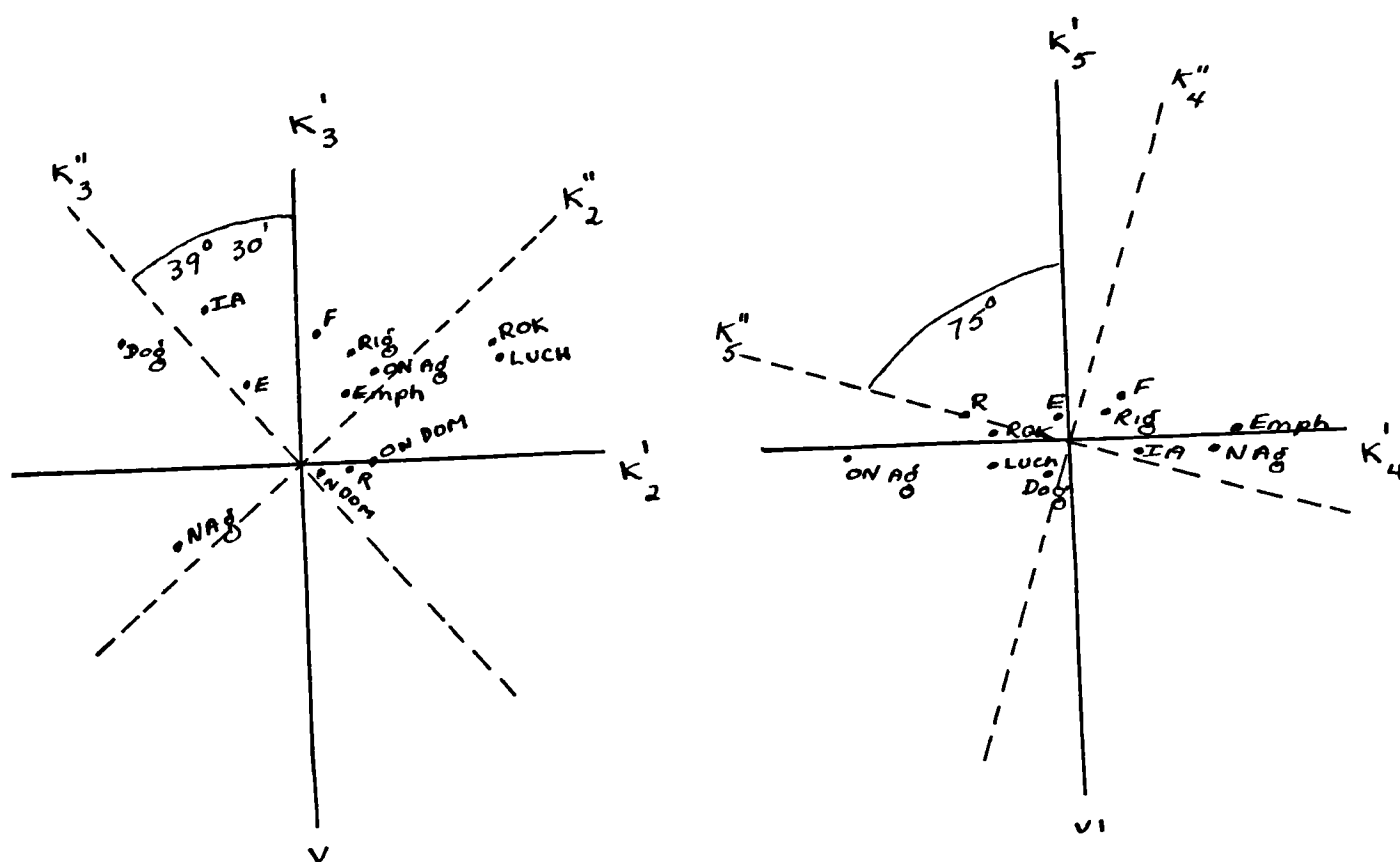


Fig 11 - The six rotations of the Fascist group

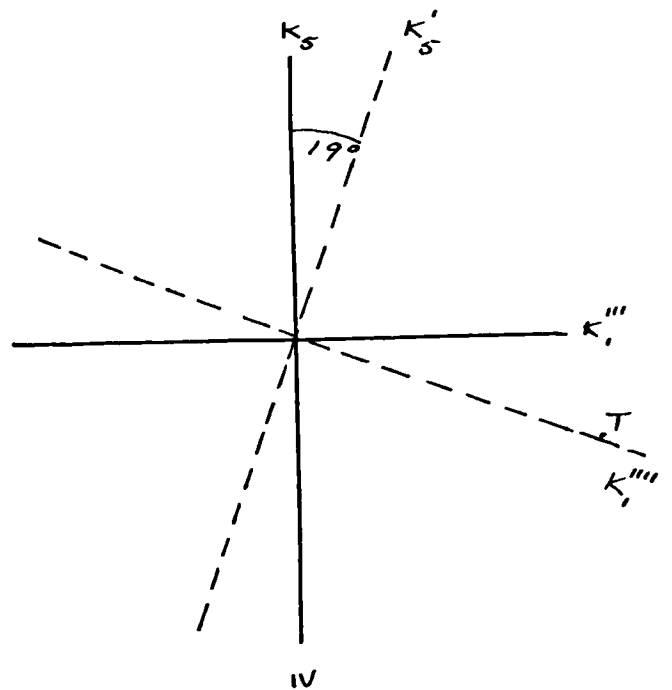
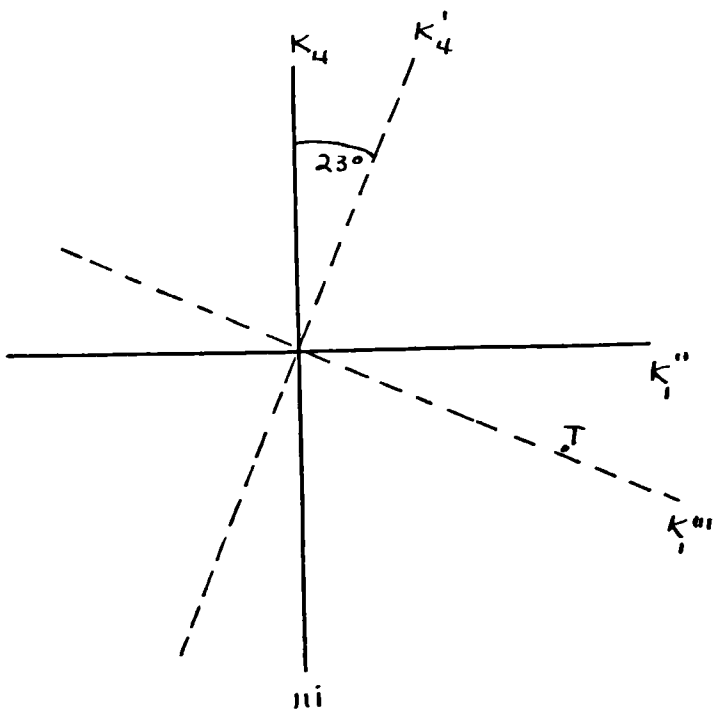
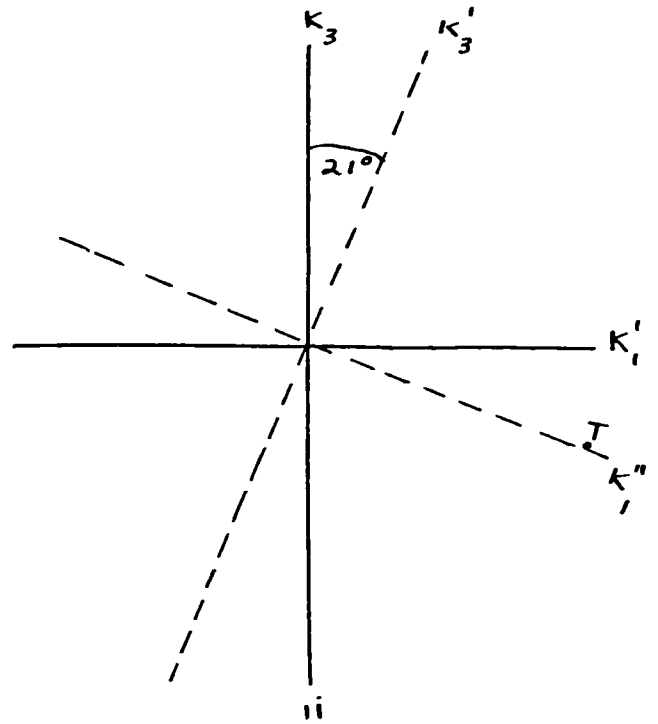
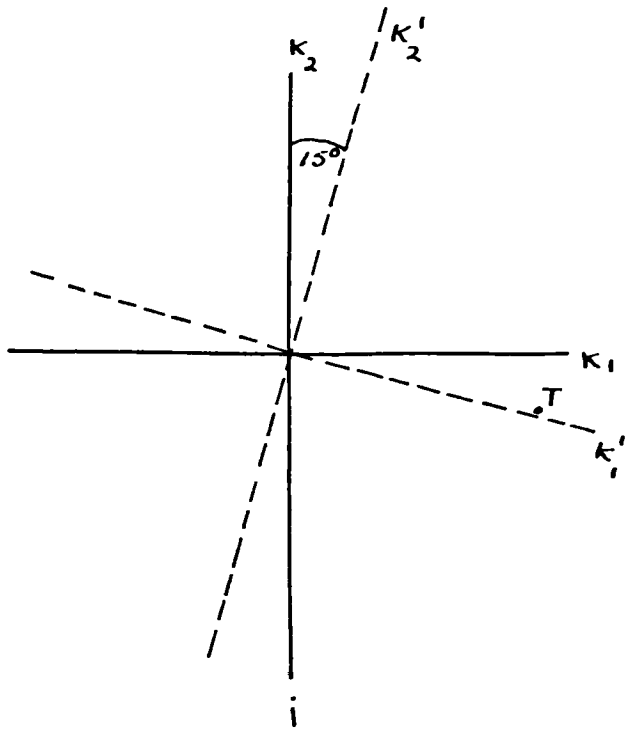


Fig 11 - The six rotations of the Fascist group- cont'd.

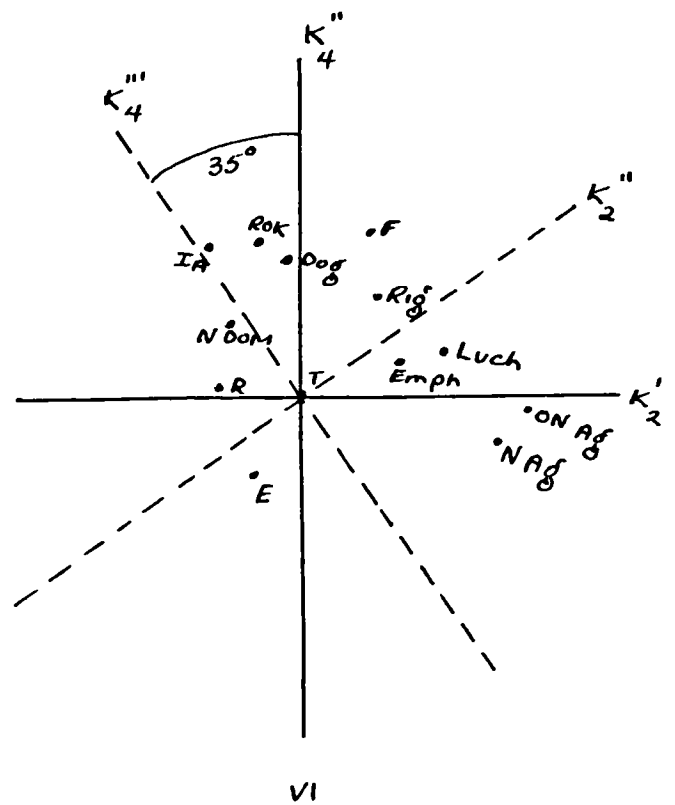
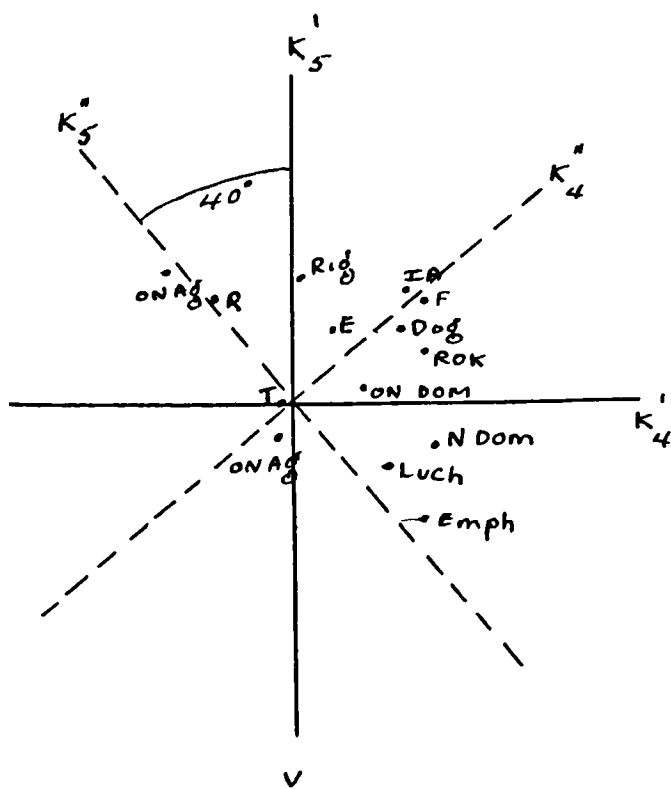


Fig iii - The eight rotations of the Normal group.

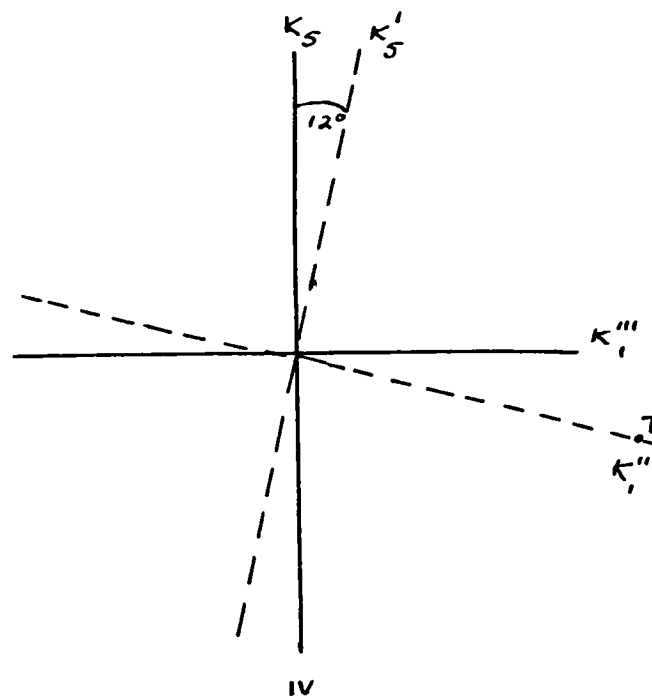
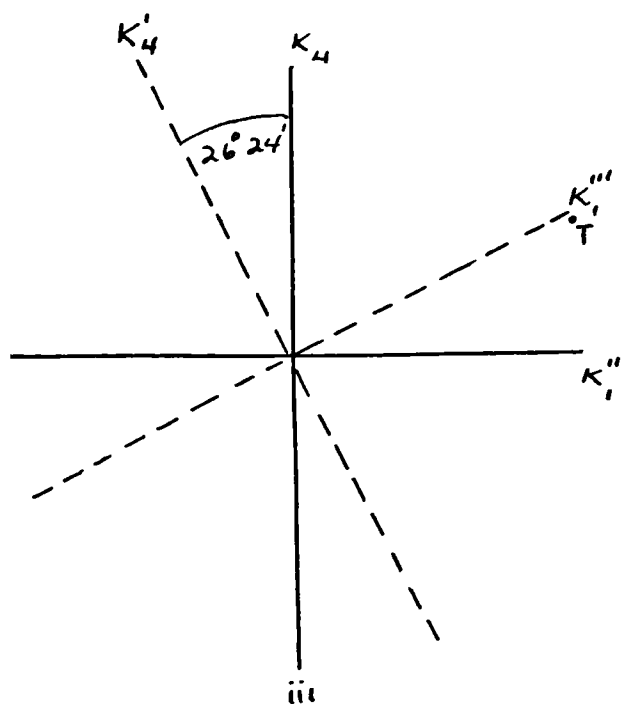
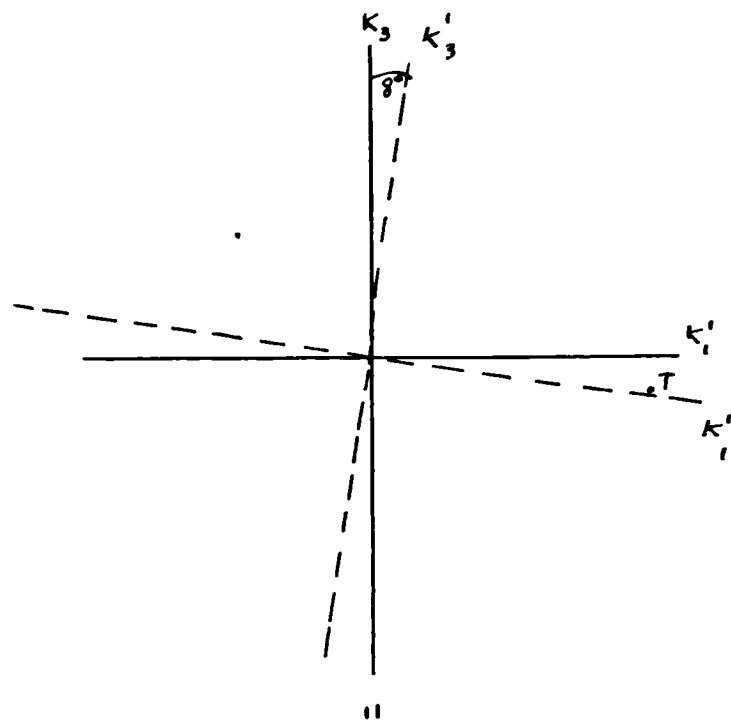
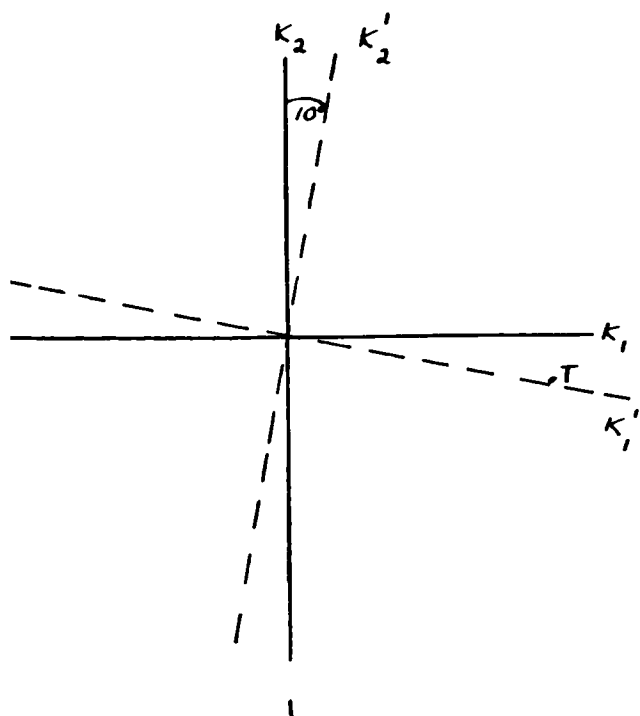
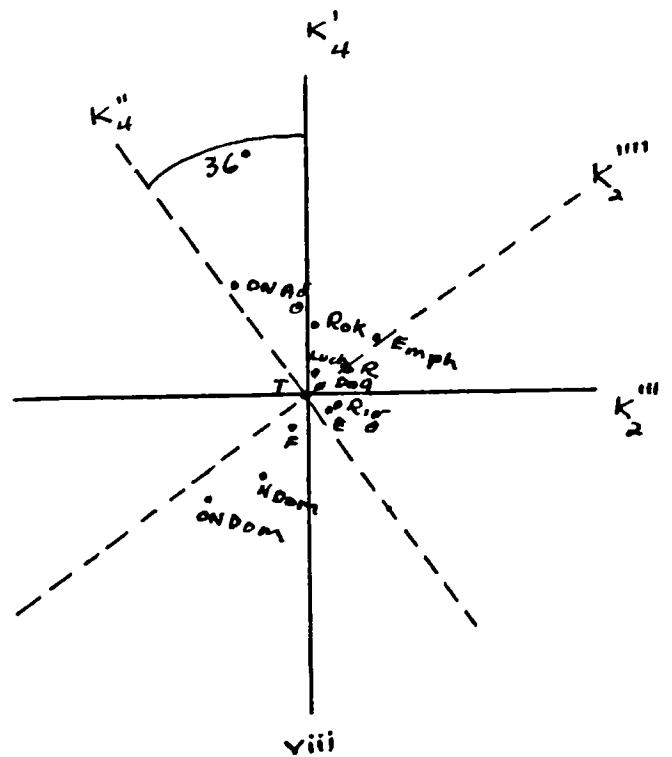
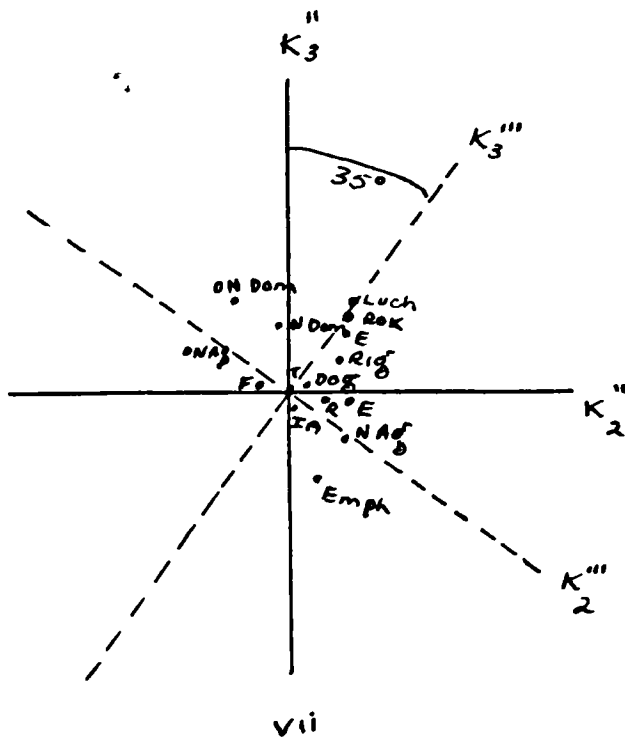
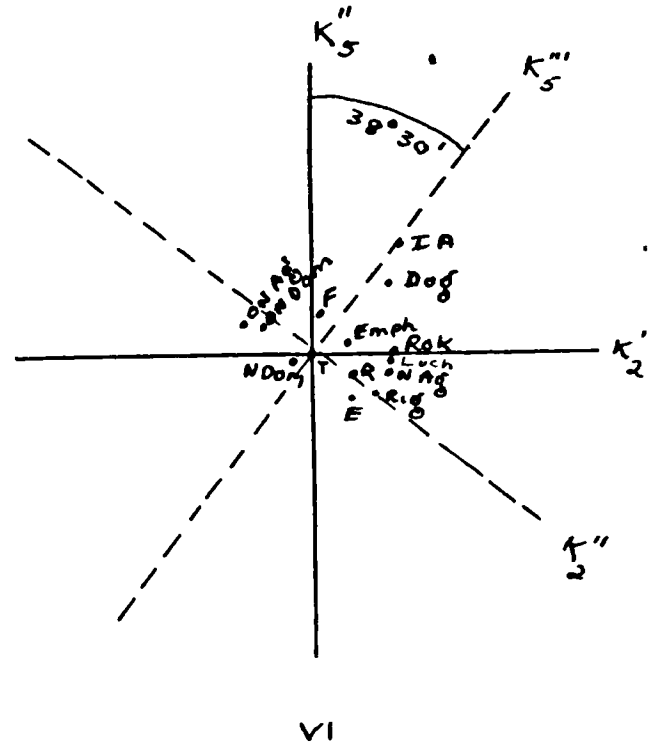
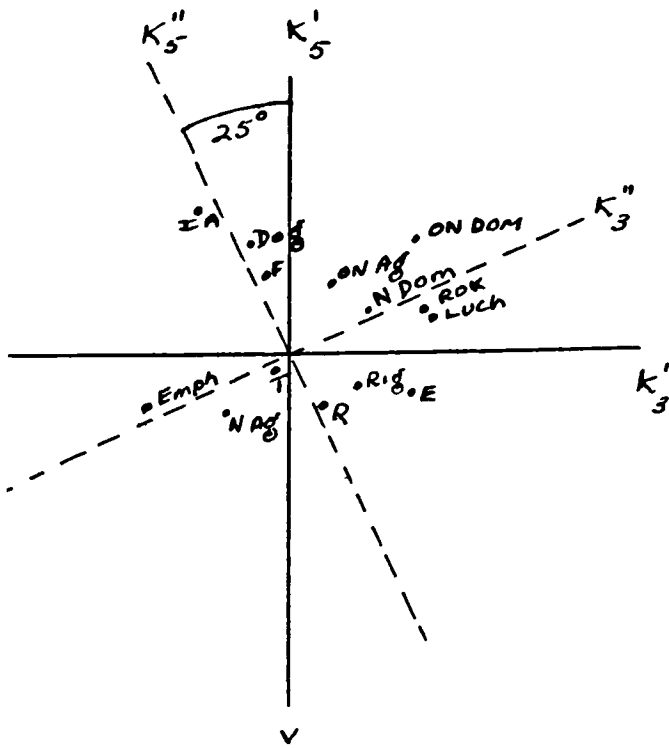


Fig. III - cont'd The eight rotations of the Normal group

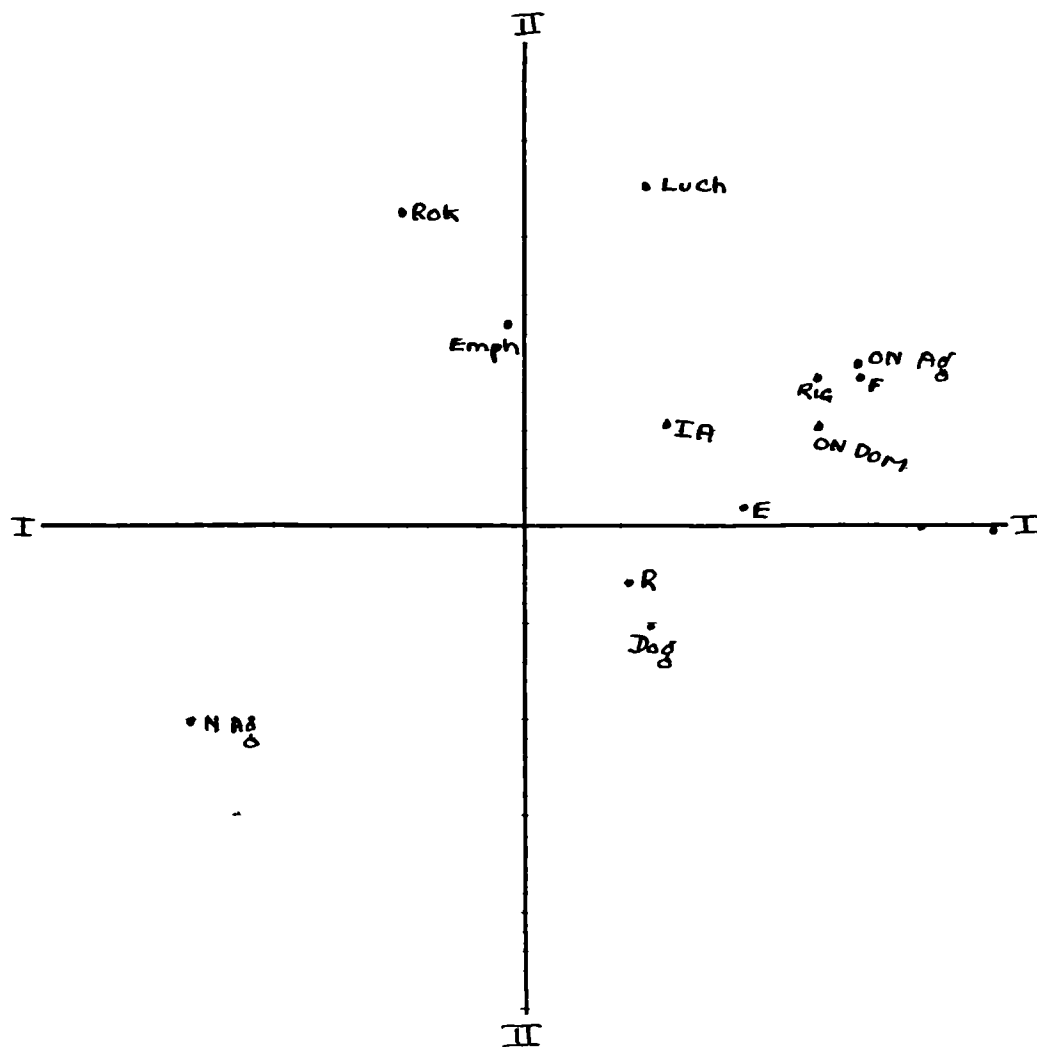


APPENDIX B.

Graphical Plots of Factors.

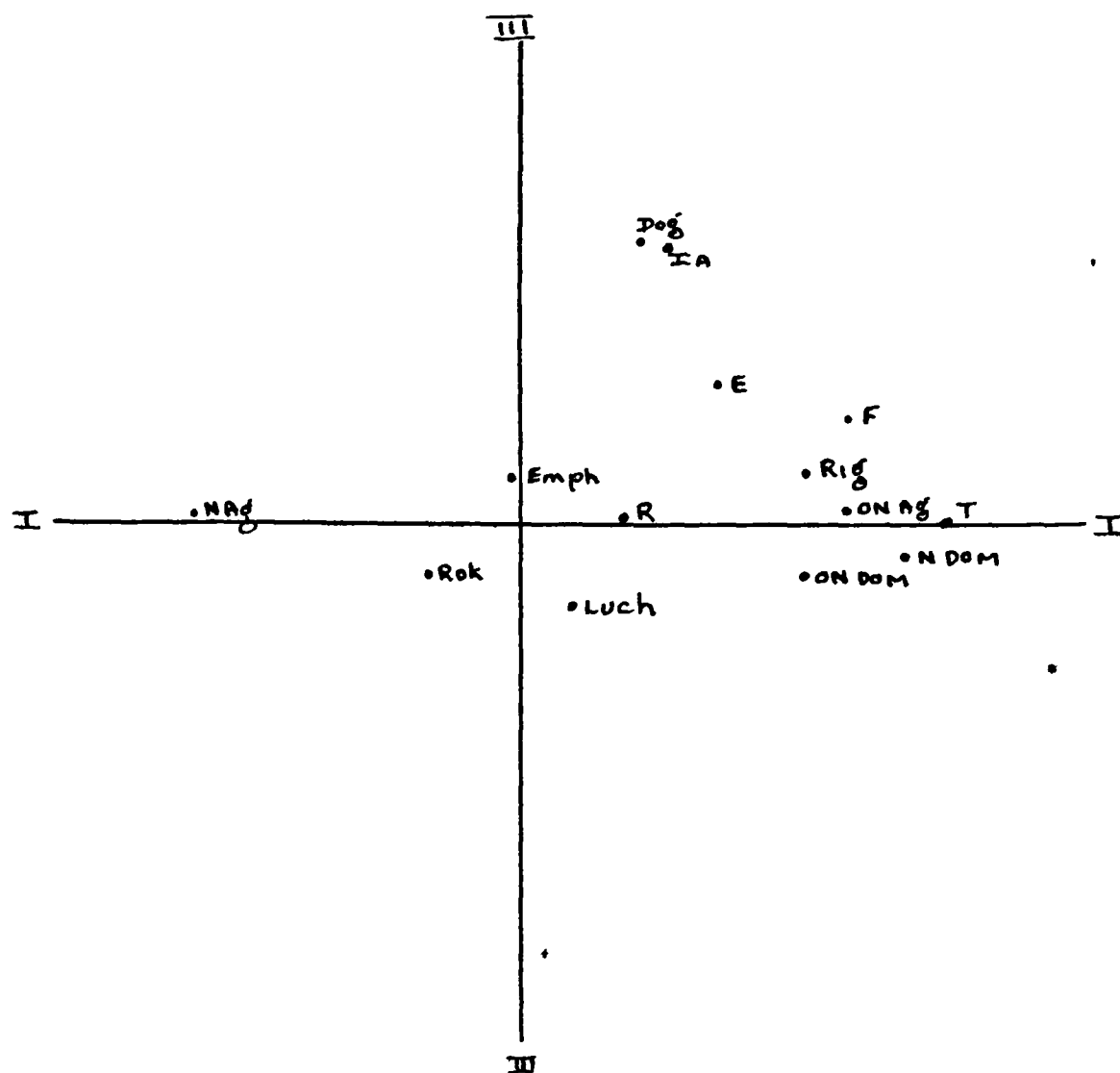
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Figure IV: Graphical plots of Communist group.
Final rotated solution.



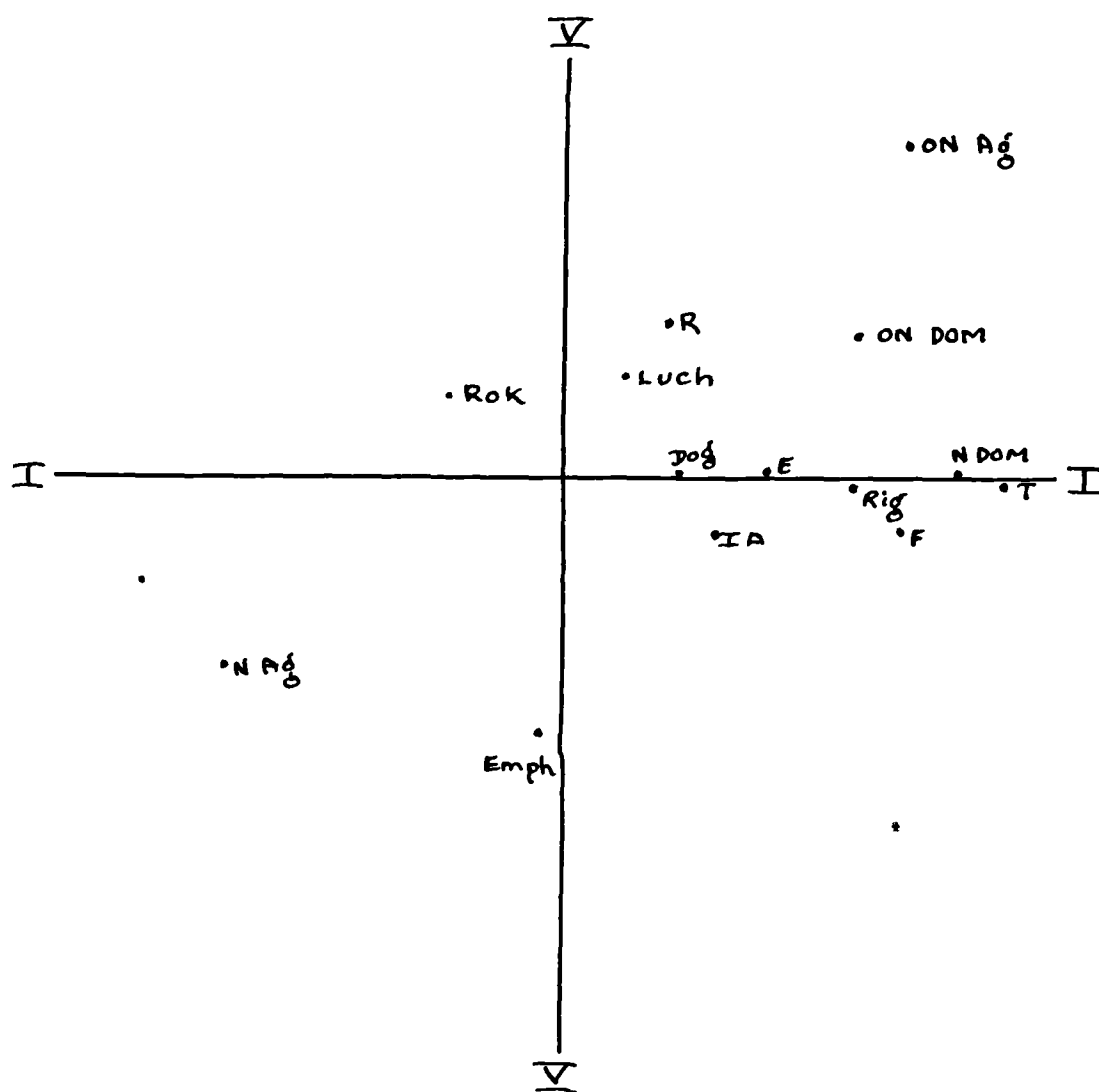
Scale $\xrightarrow{\quad .2 \quad}$

Communist group cont'd. final rotated solution



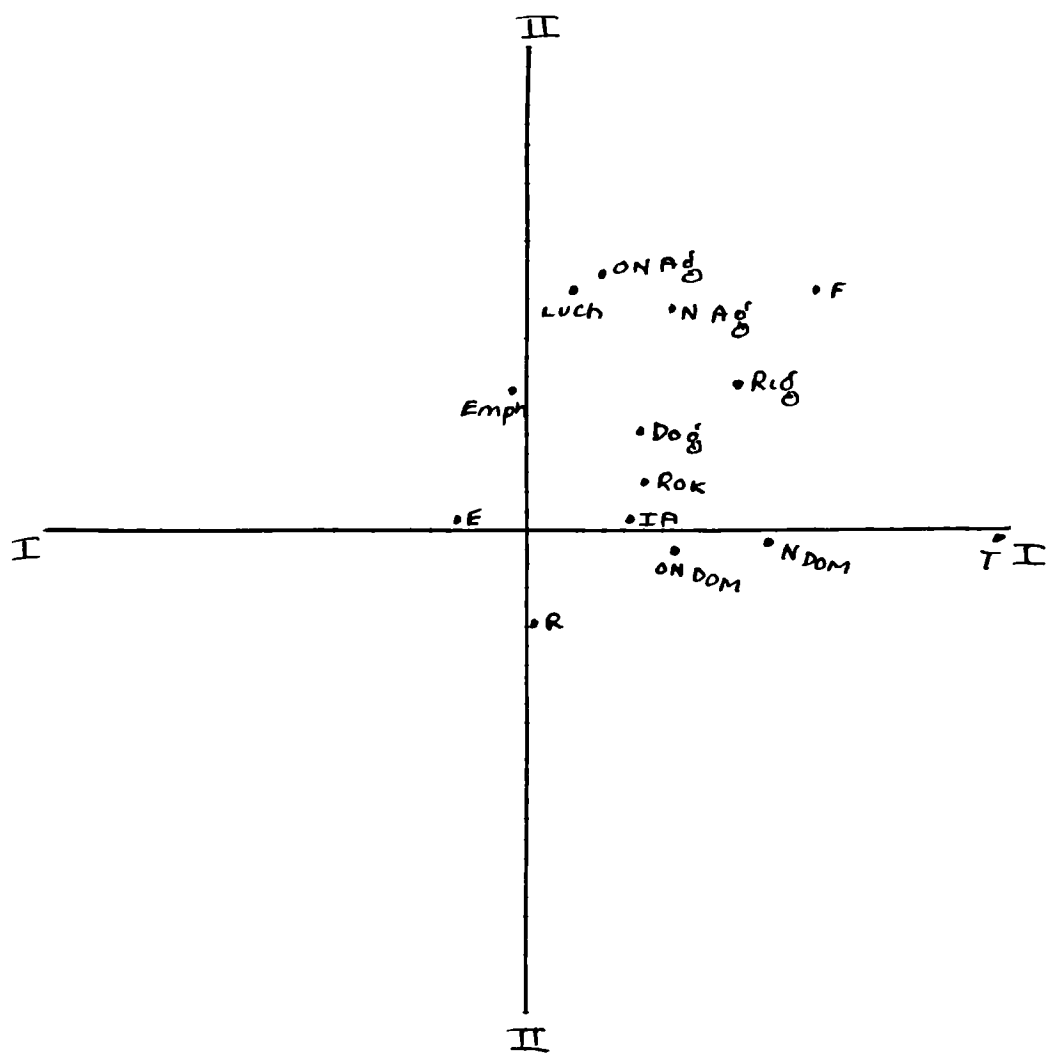
Scale .2

Communist group cont'd - Final rotated solution



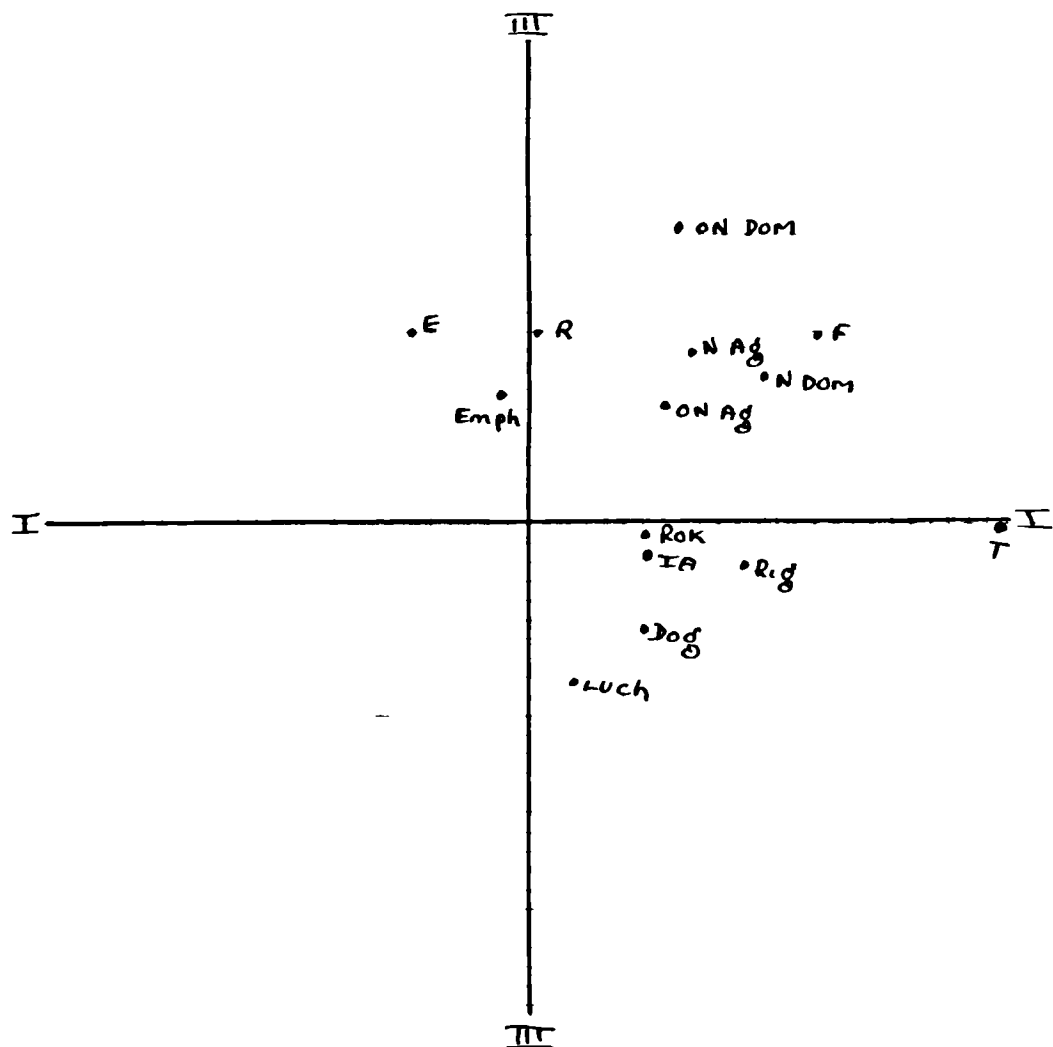
Scale .2

Figure V. Graphical plots of Fascist group.
Final rotated solution



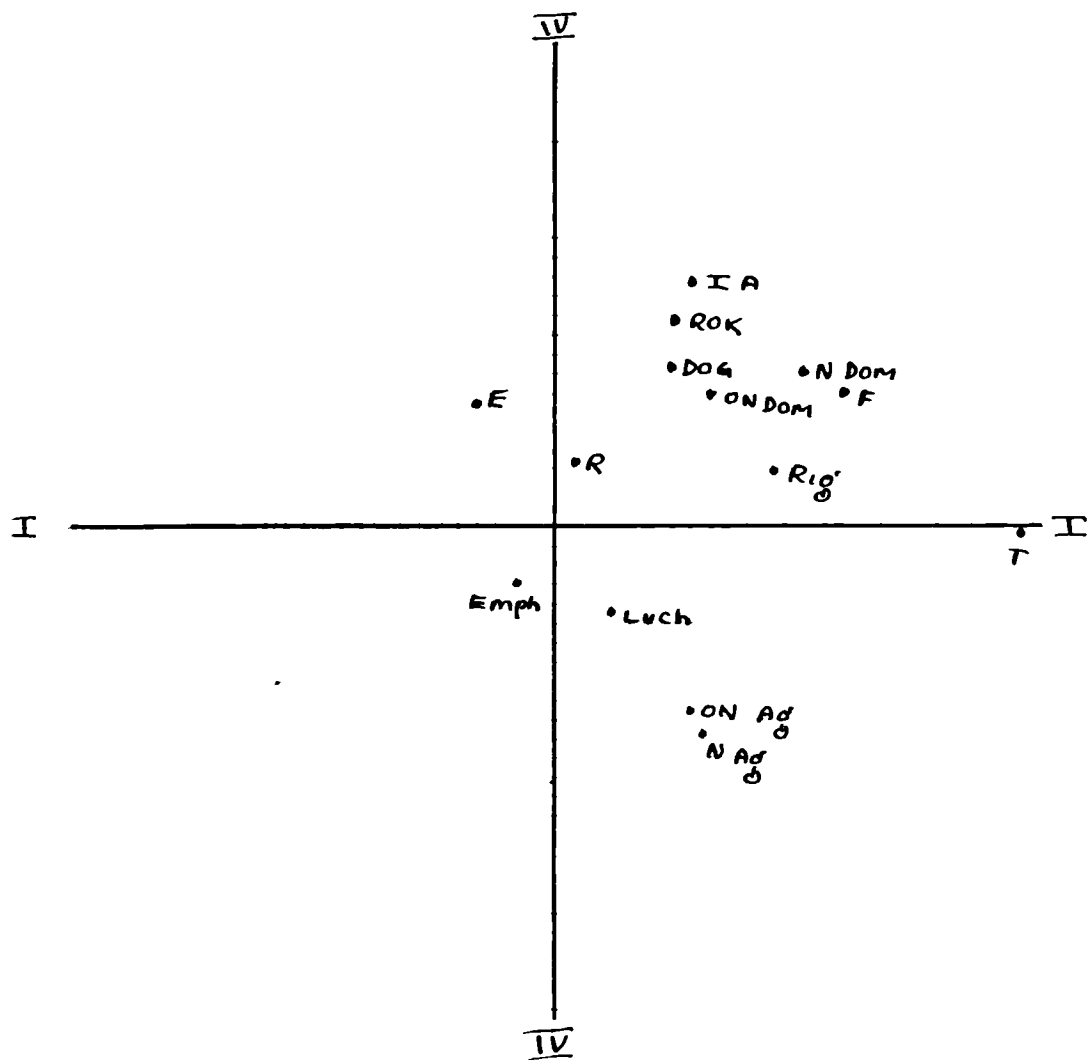
Scale $\overline{\quad .2 \quad}$

Fascist group cont'd - Final rotated solution



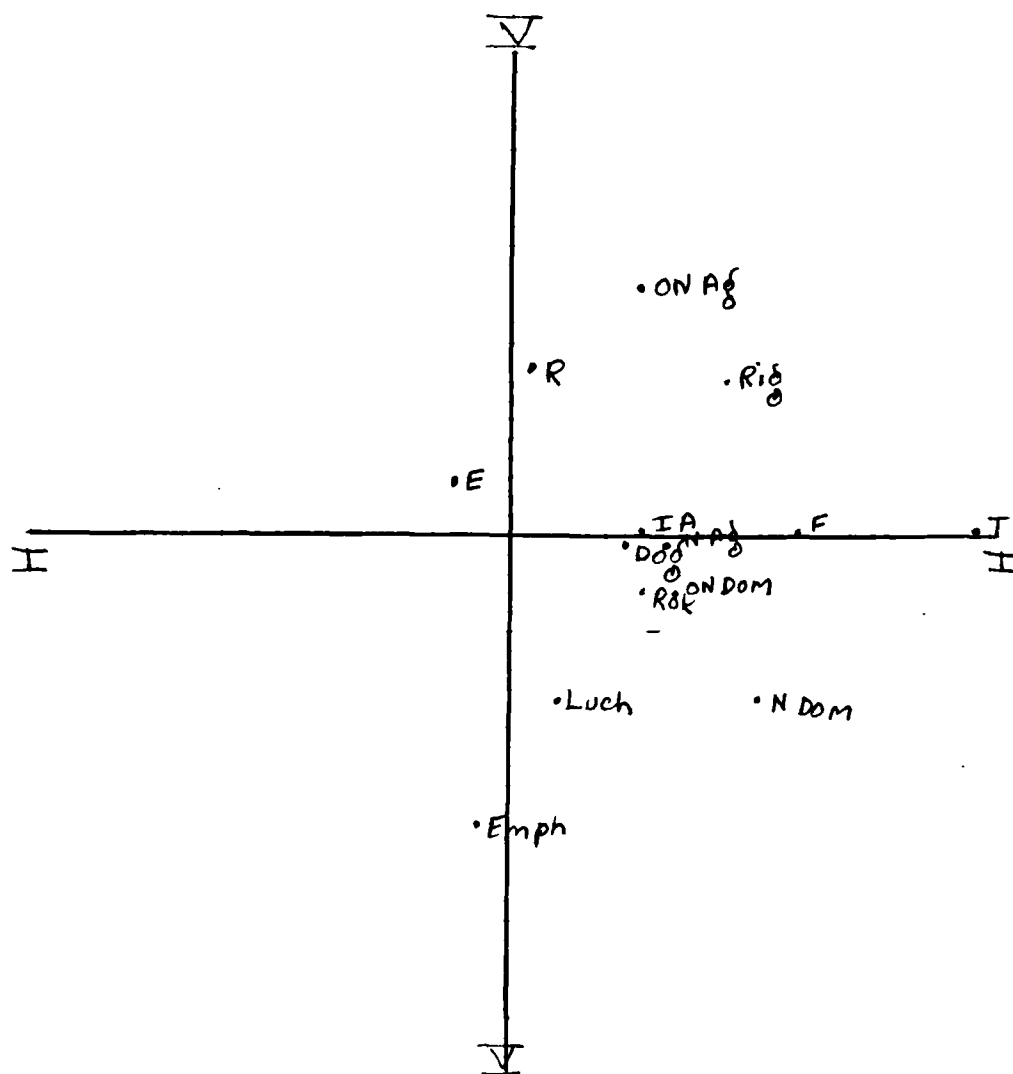
Scale 0.2

Fascist group cont'd. Final rotated solution



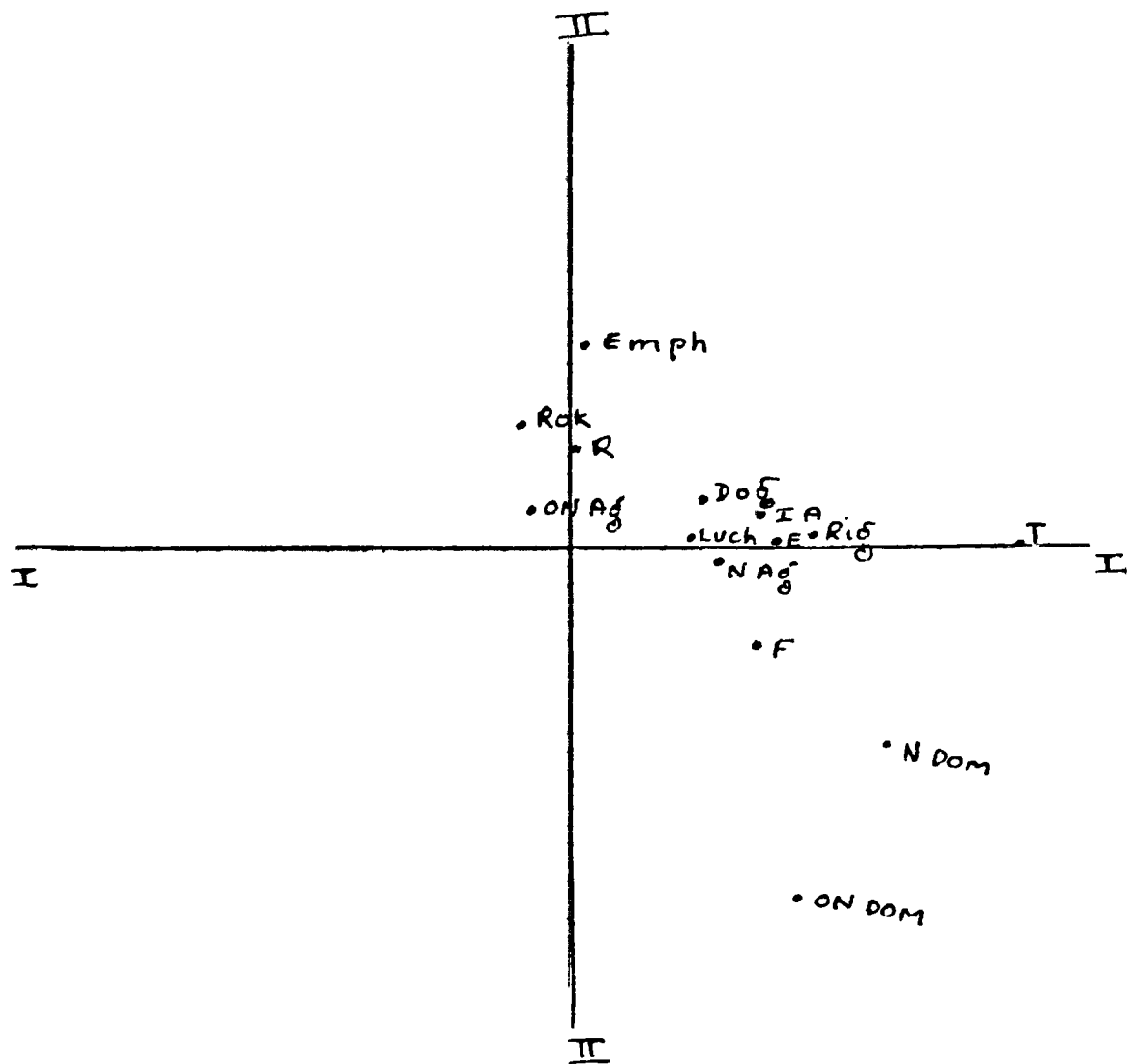
Scale
 .2

Fascist group cont'd. Final rotated solution



Scale
 .2

Figure vi - Graphic plots of Normal group -
Final rotated solution



Scale
 .2

Name..... Age..... Date.....

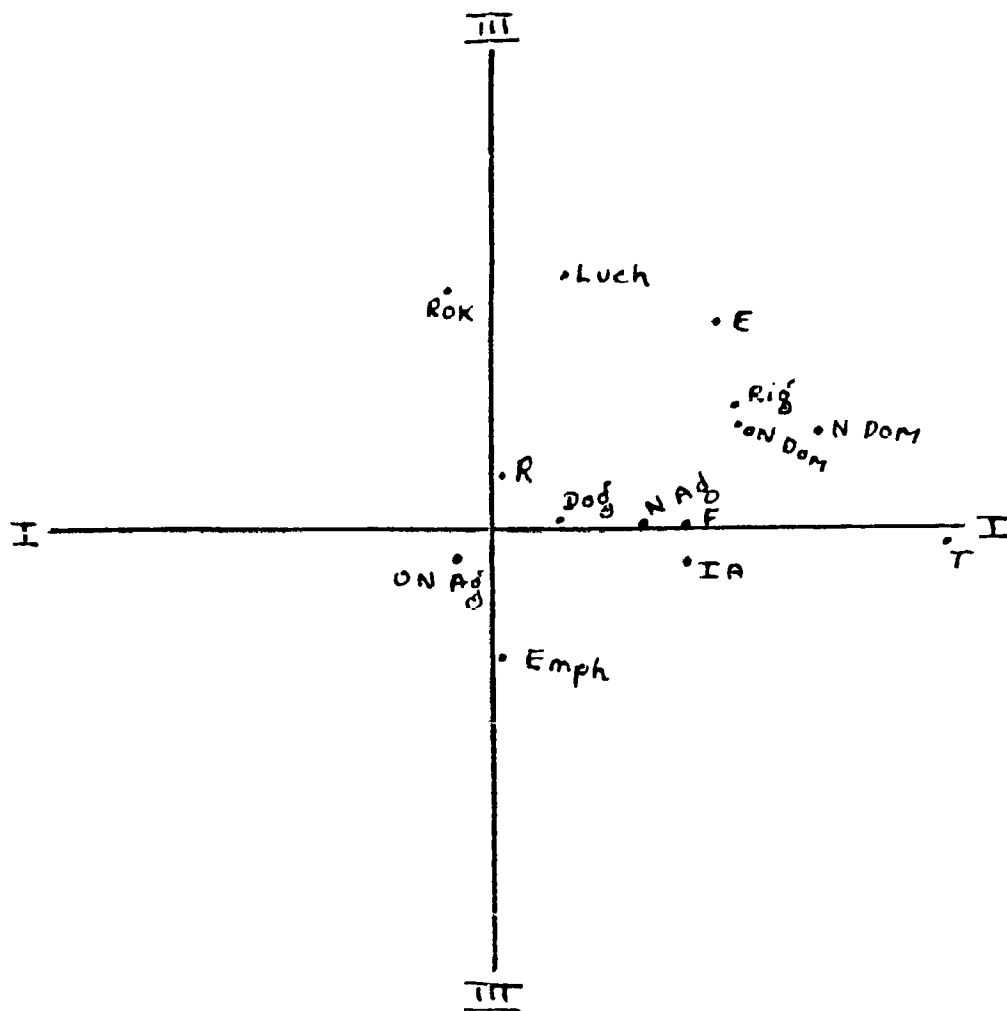
Please read each statement carefully and say whether you think it is true or false. Put your answer in the right-hand column. Answer the questions as truthfully as possible; there are no right or wrong answers.

1. I wish people would be more definite about things. _____
2. I don't like to work on a problem unless there is the possibility of coming out with a clear-cut and unambiguous answer. _____
3. I am in favour of a very strict enforcement of all laws, no matter what the consequences. _____
4. For most questions there is just one right answer once a person is able to get all the facts. _____
5. The trouble with many people is that they don't take things seriously enough. _____
6. It bothers me when something unexpected interrupts my daily routine. _____
7. I often start things I never finish. _____
8. I set a high standard for myself and I feel others should do the same. _____
9. People who seem unsure and uncertain about things make me feel uncomfortable. _____
10. Most of the arguments or quarrels I get into are over matters of principle. _____
11. I don't like things to be uncertain and unpredictable. _____
12. I think that I am stricter about right and wrong than most people. _____
13. It is annoying to listen to a lecturer who cannot seem to make up his mind as to what he really believes. _____
14. Once I have my mind made up I seldom change it. _____
15. I always see to it that my work is carefully planned and organized. _____
16. Our thinking would be a lot better off if we would just forget about words like "probably," "approximately," and "perhaps." _____
17. I like to have a place for everything and everything in its place. _____
18. I never make judgments about people until I am sure of the facts. _____
19. I am known as a hard and steady worker. _____
20. I find that a well-ordered mode of life, with regular hours and an established routine, is congenial to my temperament. _____

21. A strong person will be able to make up his mind even on the most difficult questions. _____
22. It is hard for me to sympathize with a person who is always doubting and unsure about things. _____
23. I always make up an ending for a story when the author leaves me in doubt as to the fate of the hero. _____
24. Parents nearly always know best. _____
25. Most women are either good or bad. _____
26. If I have the choice of two alternatives and I cannot decide, I find it is better to choose either one to get the decision over with. _____
27. I dislike working puzzles to which there seems to be no solution. _____
28. There is only one true religion. _____
29. It makes me feel uncomfortable when someone is speaking about something which I do not understand. _____
30. Women act too much like men nowadays. _____
31. I change my mind easily when someone puts forth a convincing argument. _____
32. I take a philosophical view of life most of the time. _____
33. I make up my mind very rapidly. _____
34. It makes me uncomfortable to do anything unconventional. _____
35. I dislike learning things about which I know absolutely nothing. _____
36. It is always desirable to do the socially acceptable thing. _____

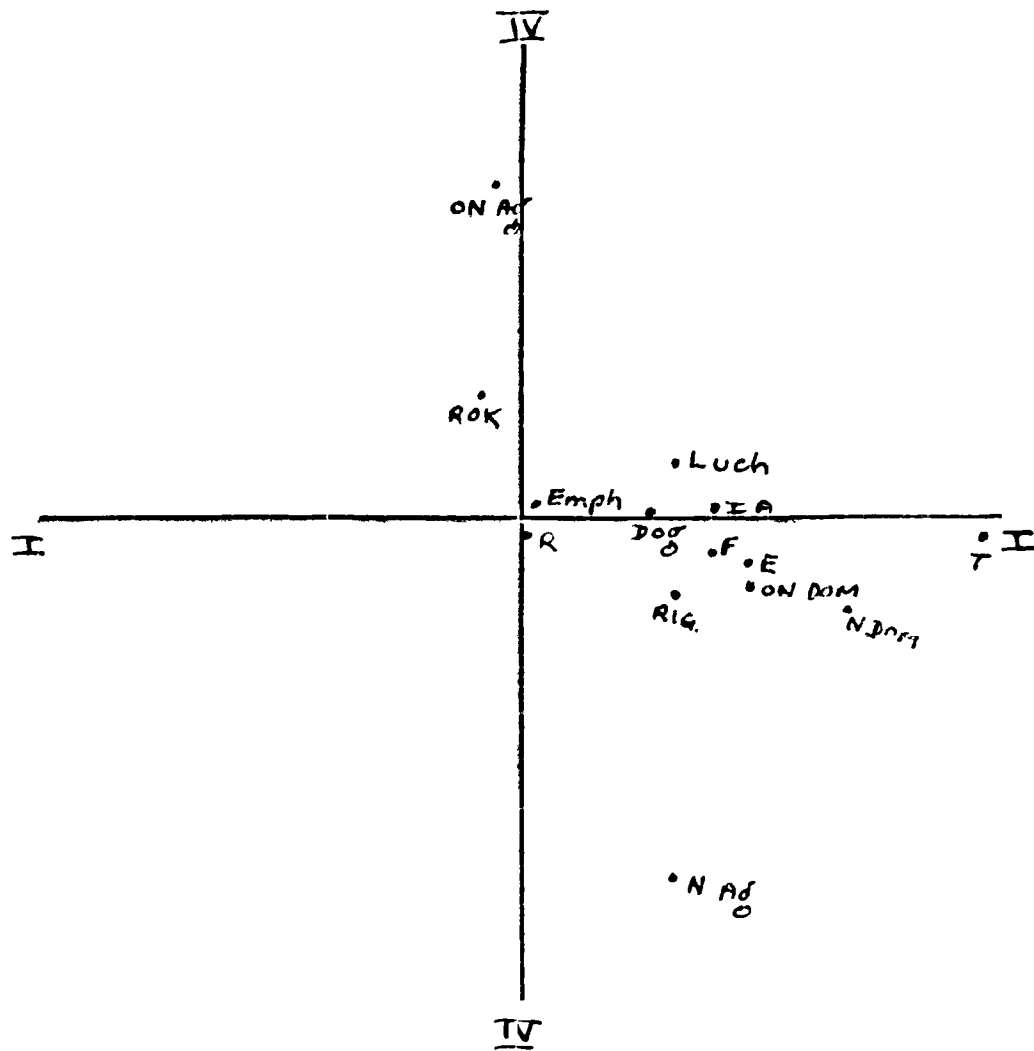
.....

Fig. 1 Normal group cont'd - Final rotated solution

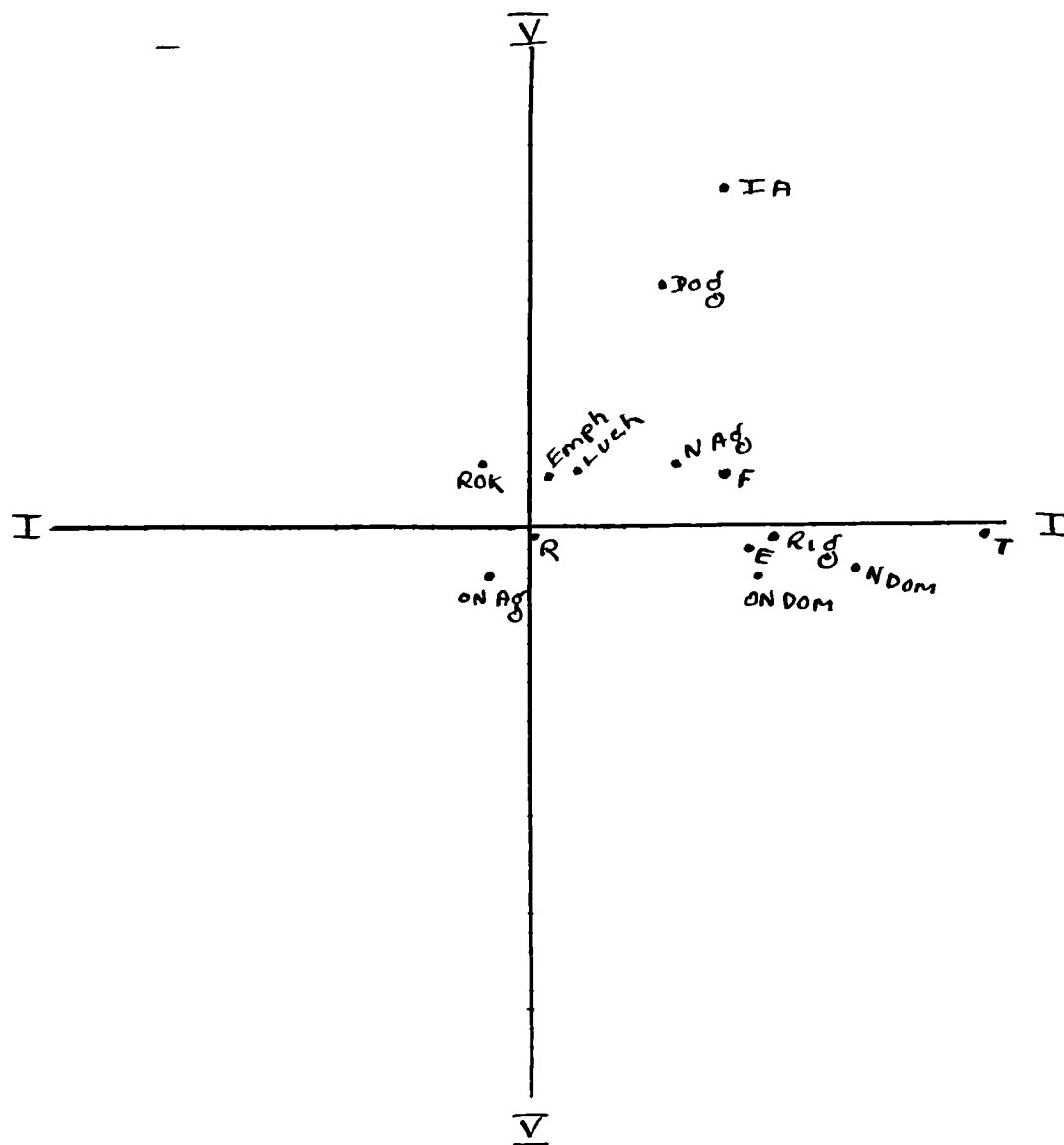


Scale
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Normal group cont'd. Final rotated solution



Normal group cont'd Final rotated solution

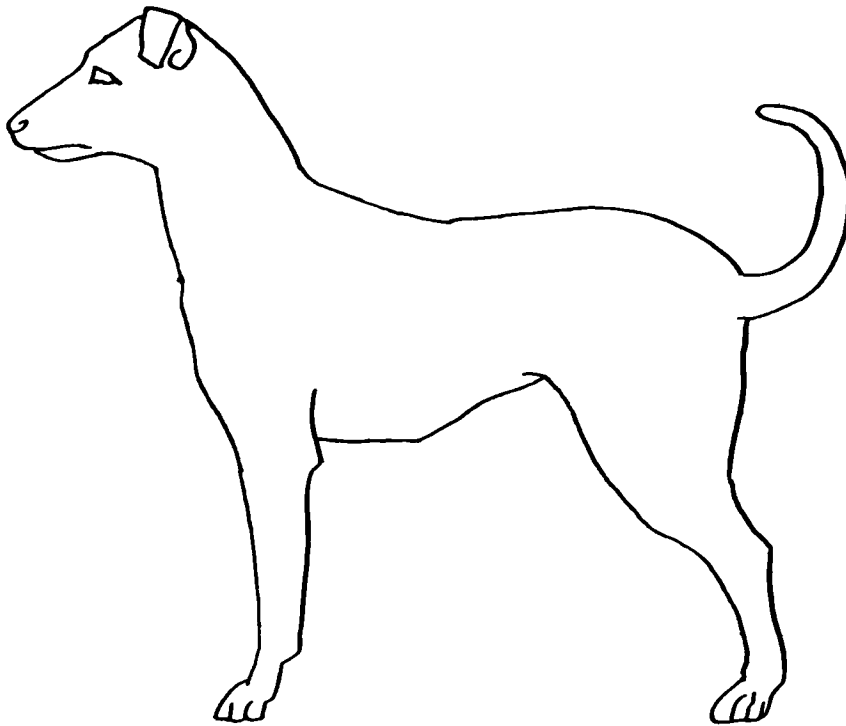


Scale
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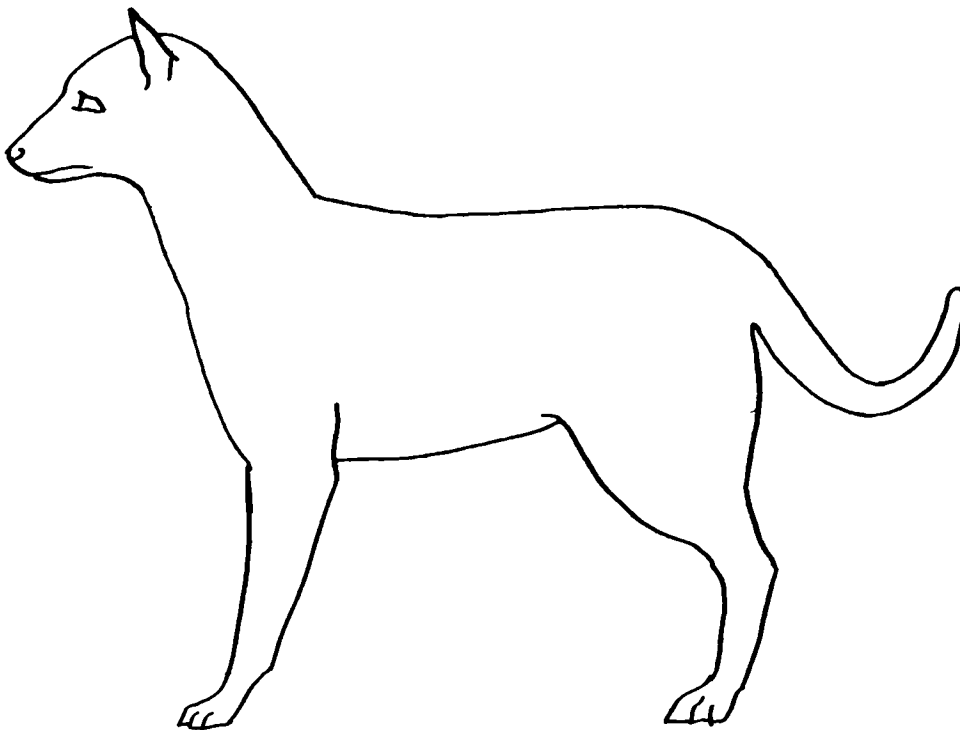
APPENDIX C. (a)

Copy of Tests.

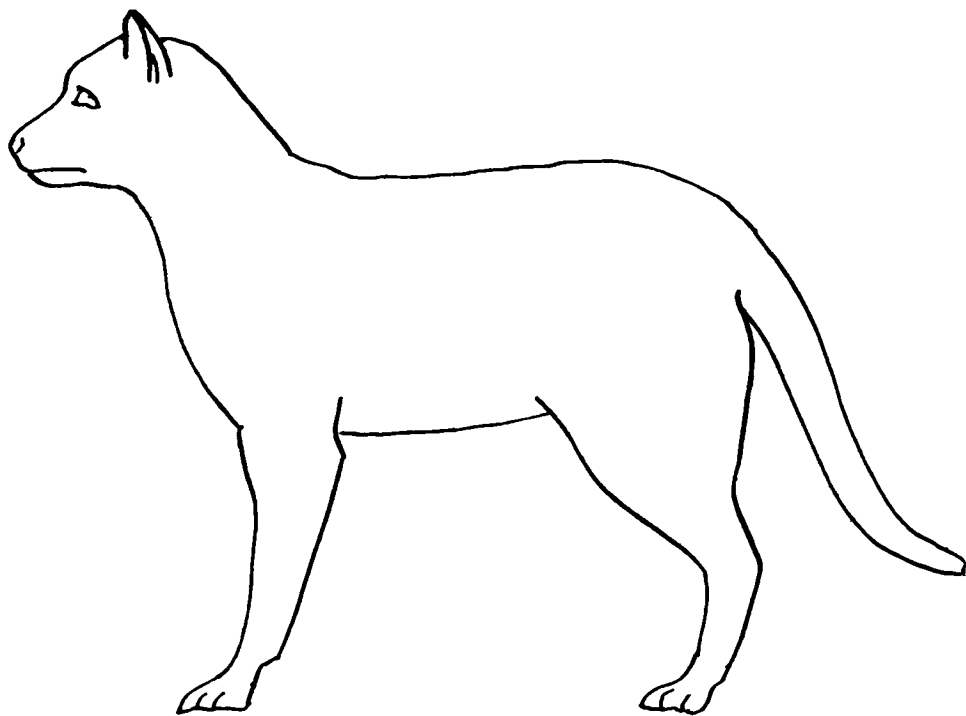
Dog - Cat Test of Intolerance of Ambiguity



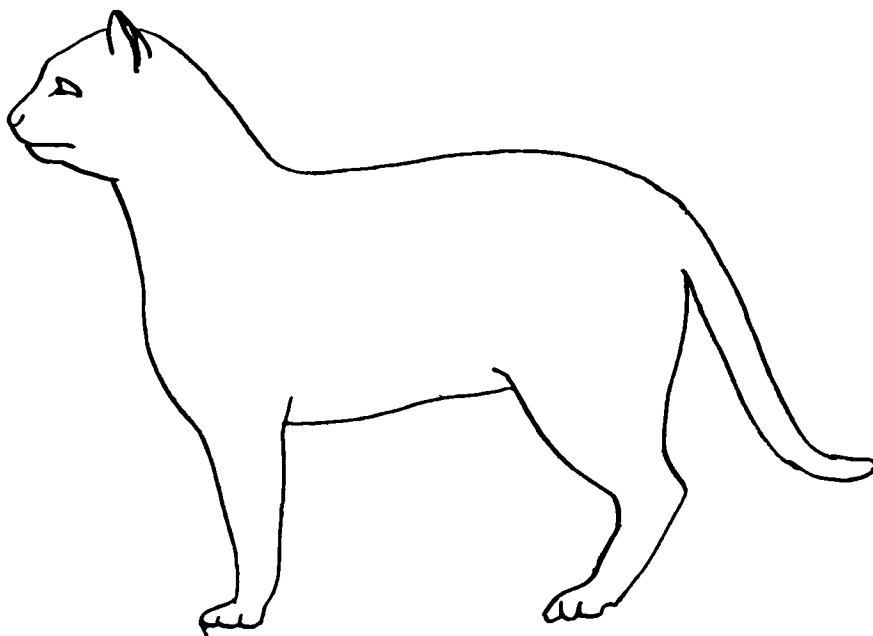
Card 1



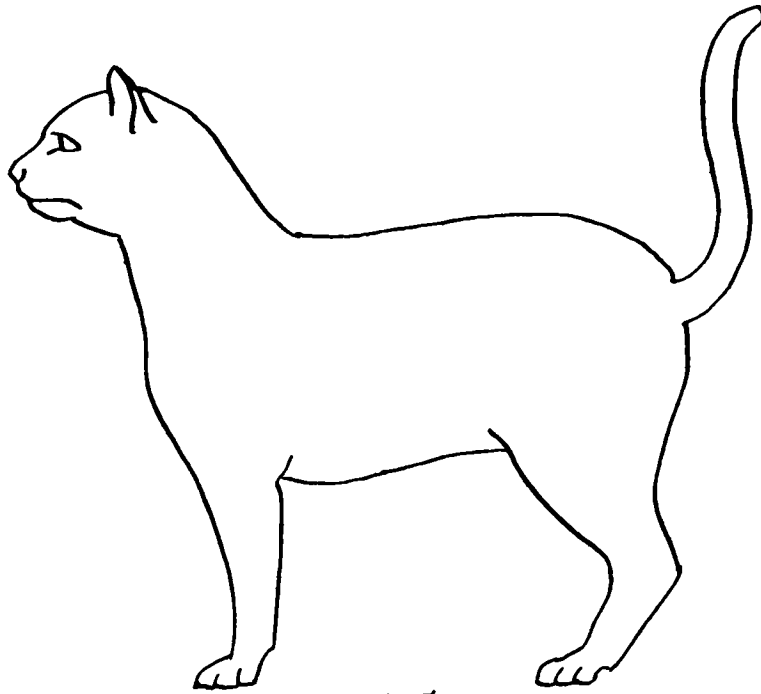
Card 2



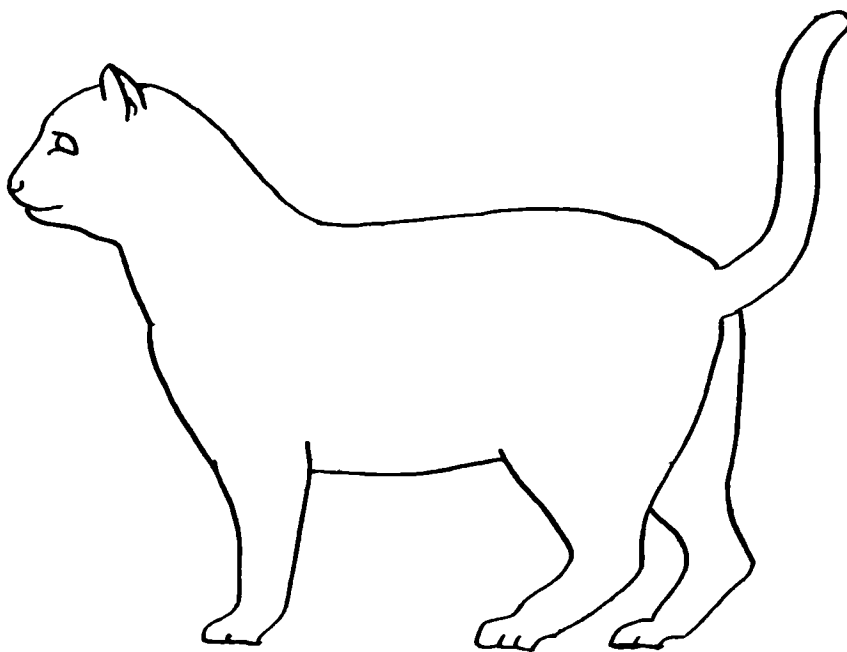
Card 3



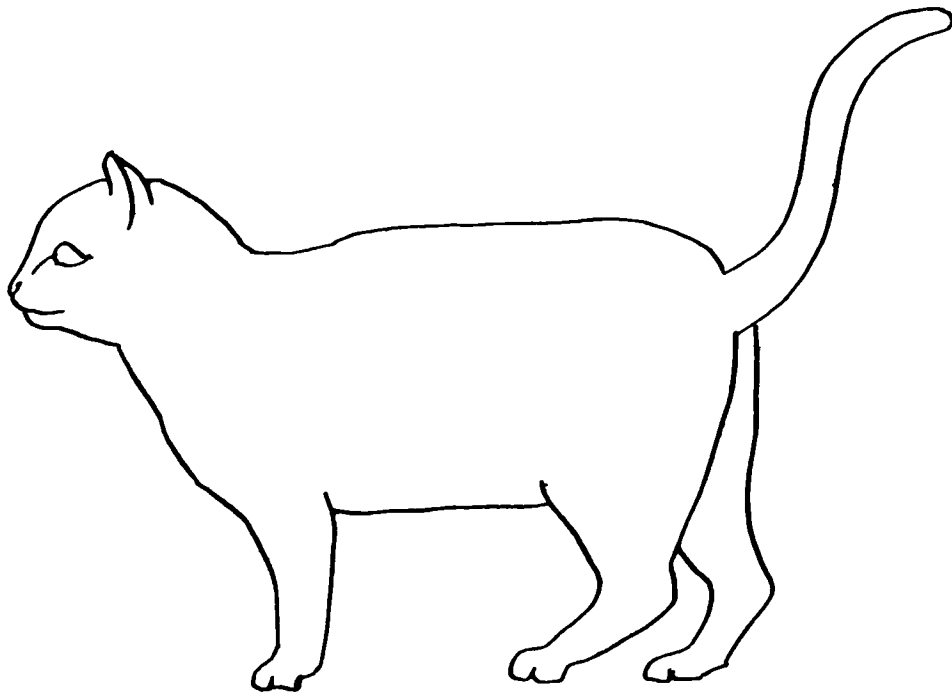
Card 4



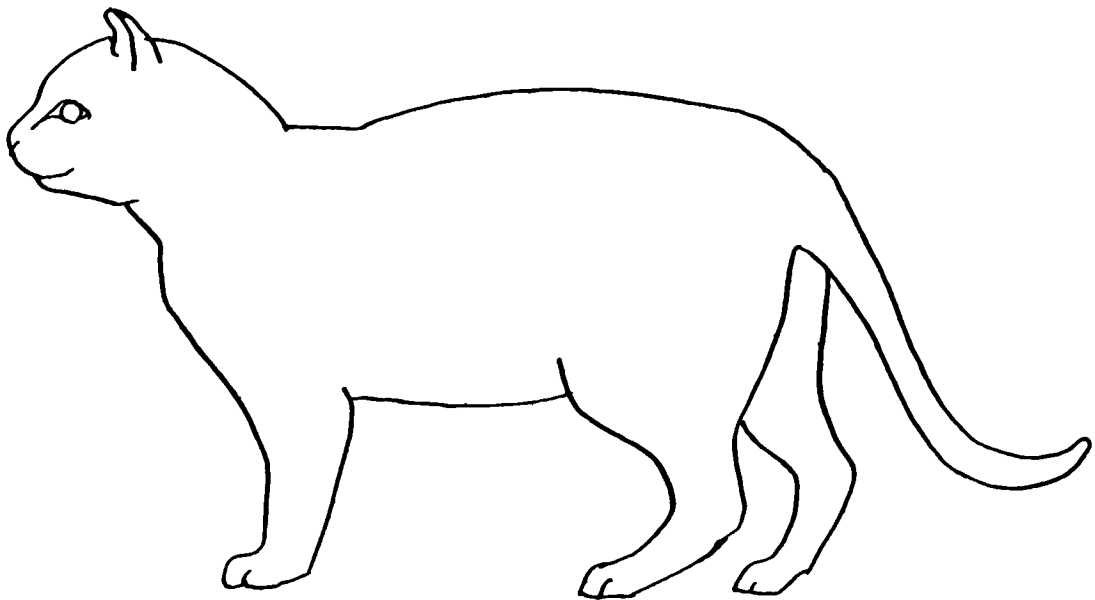
Card 5



Card 6



Card 7



Card 8

Luchins Arithmetic Test of Rigidity.

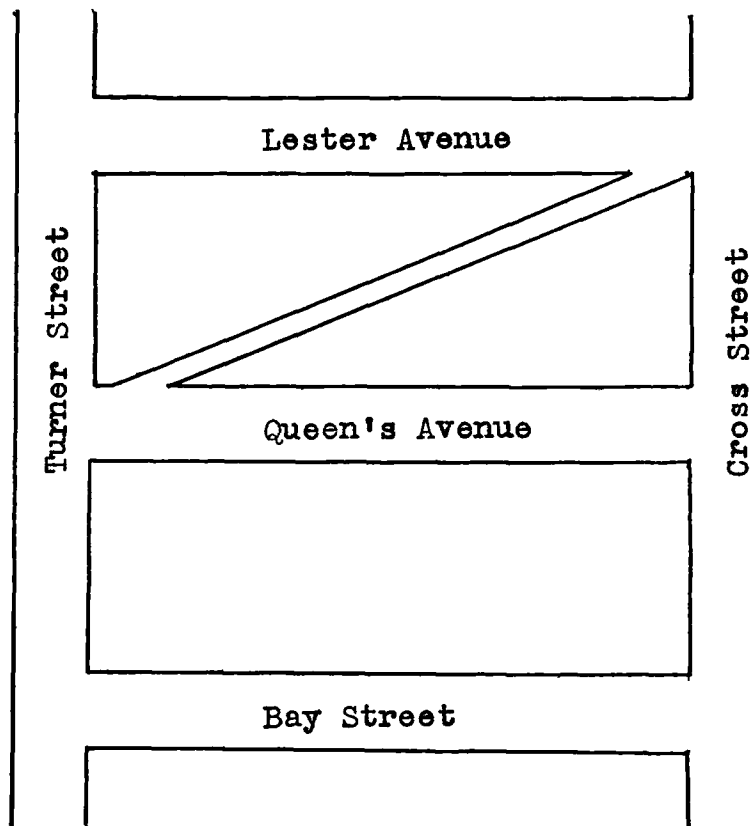
Card 3 - Example.

| | | | |
|----|----|---|-------|
| 30 | 40 | 3 | Get 4 |
|----|----|---|-------|

| | | | | |
|--------|----|----|----|--------|
| Card 1 | 39 | 4 | | Get 31 |
| 2 | 13 | 29 | 3 | Get 10 |
| 3 | 30 | 40 | 3 | Get 4 |
| 4 | 31 | 61 | 4 | Get 22 |
| 5 | 14 | 59 | 10 | Get 25 |
| 6 | 23 | 49 | 3 | Get 20 |
| 7 | 11 | 25 | 3 | Get 8 |
| 8 | 17 | 40 | 6 | Get 11 |
| 9 | 10 | 23 | 3 | Get 7 |
| 10 | 11 | 27 | 5 | Get 6 |

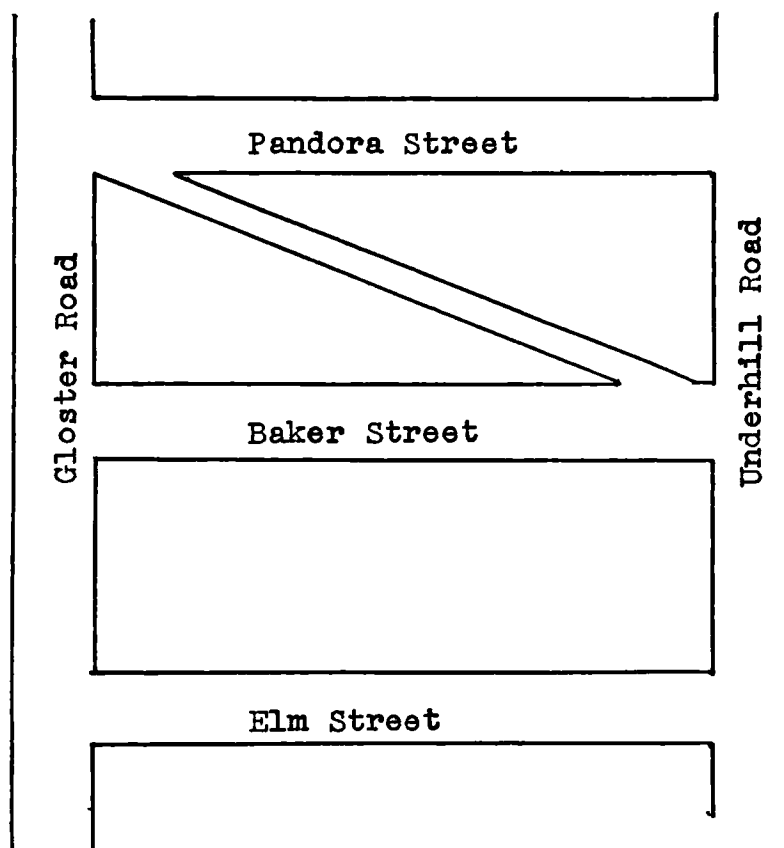
Rokeach Social Maps Test.

Example of critical problem using diagonal path
to reach goal.



Rokeach Social Maps Test.

Example of problem where diagonal path is not usable
to reach goal.



PUBLIC OPINION QUESTIONNAIRE E.

Name..... Age..... Date.....

The following statements refer to opinions regarding a number of social groups and issues, about which some people agree and others disagree. Please mark each statement in the left-hand margin according to your agreement or disagreement, as follows:

| | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| +1: slight support, agreement | -1: slight opposition, disagreement |
| +2: moderate support, " | -2: moderate opposition, " |
| +3: strong support, " | -3: strong opposition, " |

- _____ 1. One trouble with Jewish businessmen is that they stick together and prevent other people from having a fair chance in competition.
- _____ 2. Negroes have their rights, but it is best to keep them in their own districts and schools and to prevent too much contact with whites.
- _____ 3. Zootsuiters prove that when people of their type have too much money and freedom, they just take advantage and cause trouble.
- _____ 4. The worst danger to our country during the last 50 years has come from foreign ideas and agitators.
- _____ 5. I can hardly imagine myself marrying a Jew.
- _____ 6. Now that a new world organisation is set up, Great Britain must be sure that she loses none of her independence and complete power as a sovereign nation.
- _____ 7. It would be a mistake ever to have Negroes for foremen and leaders over whites.
- _____ 8. Certain religious sects who refuse to salute the flag, should be forced to conform to such a patriotic action, or else be abolished.
- _____ 9. There may be a few exceptions, but in general Jews are pretty much alike.
- _____ 10. The trouble with letting Jews into a nice neighbourhood is that they gradually give it a typical Jewish atmosphere.

PUBLIC OPINION QUESTIONNAIRE F.

Name....., Age..... Date.....

The following statements refer to opinions regarding a number of social groups and issues, about which some people agree and others disagree. Please mark each statement in the right-hand margin according to your agreement or disagreement, as follows:

| | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| +1: slight support, agreement | -1: slight opposition, disagreement |
| +2: moderate support, " | -2: moderate opposition, " |
| +3: strong support, " | -3: strong opposition, " |

1. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn. _____
2. A person who has bad manners, habits, and breeding can hardly expect to get along with decent people. _____
3. If people would talk less and work more, everybody would be better off. _____
4. The business man and the manufacturer are much more important to society than the artist and the professor. _____
5. Science has its place, but there are many important things that can never possibly be understood by the human mind. _____
6. Every person should have complete faith in some supernatural power whose decisions he obeys without question. _____
7. Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down. _____
8. What this country needs most, more than laws and political programmes, is a few courageous, tireless, devoted leaders in whom the people can put their faith. _____
9. No sane, normal, decent person could ever think of hurting a close friend or relative. _____
10. Nobody ever learned anything really important except through suffering. _____
11. What the youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work and fight for family and country. _____
12. An insult to our honour should always be punished. _____
13. Sex crimes, such as rape and attacks on children, deserve more than mere imprisonment; such criminals ought to be publicly whipped, or worse. _____
4. There is hardly anything lower than a person who does not feel a great love, gratitude, and respect for his parents. _____
5. Most of our social problems would be solved if we could somehow get rid of the immoral, crooked, and feeble-minded people. _____

16. Homosexuals are hardly better than criminals and ought to be severely punished. _____
17. When a person has a problem or worry, it is best for him not to think about it, but to keep busy with more cheerful things. 1) _____
18. Nowadays more and more people are prying into matters that should remain personal and private. 2) _____
19. Some people are born with an urge to jump from high places. _____
20. People can be divided into two distinct classes: the weak and the strong. _____
21. Some day it will probably be shown that astrology can explain a lot of things. _____
22. Wars and social troubles may someday be ended by an earthquake or flood that will destroy the whole world. _____
23. No weakness or difficulty can hold us back if we have enough will power. _____
24. It is best to use some prewar authorities in Germany to keep order and prevent chaos. _____
25. Most people don't realize how much our lives are controlled by plots hatched in secret places. _____
26. Human nature being what it is, there will always be war and conflict. _____
27. Familiarity breeds contempt. _____
28. Nowadays when so many different kinds of people move around and mix together so much, a person has to protect himself especially carefully against catching an infection or disease from them. _____
29. The wild sex life of the old Greeks and Romans was tame compared to some of the goings-on in this country, even in places where people might least expect it. _____
30. The true British way of life is disappearing so fast that force may be necessary to preserve it. 2) _____

.....

PUBLIC OPINION INVENTORY

It is hoped you will be interested in this survey of public opinion. Below are given 80 statements which represent widely-held opinions on various social questions, selected from speeches, books, newspapers and other sources. They were chosen in such a way that most people are likely to agree with some, and to disagree with others.

After each statement, you are requested to record your personal opinion regarding it. You should use the following system of marking:

- + + if you strongly agree with the statement
- + if you agree on the whole
- 0 if you can't decide for or against, or if you think the question is worded in such a way that you can't give an answer
- if you disagree on the whole
- - if you strongly disagree

Please answer frankly. Remember this is not a test; there are no "right" or "wrong" answers. The answer required is your own personal opinion. Be sure not to omit any questions. The questionnaire is anonymous, so please do not sign your name.

Do not consult any other person while you are giving your answers.

| <u>Opinion Statements</u> | <u>Your Opinion</u> |
|--|---|
| 1. The nation exists for the benefit of the individuals composing it, not the individuals for the benefit of the nation. | ..... |
| 2. Coloured people are innately inferior to white people. | ..... |
| 3. War is inherent in human nature. | ..... |
| 4. Ultimately, private property should be abolished and complete socialism introduced. | - + + 0 + + + R ₁ |
| 5. Persons with serious hereditary defects and diseases should be compulsorily sterilized. | ..... |
| 6. In the interests of peace, we must give up part of our national sovereignty. | ..... |
| 7. Production and trade should be free from government interference. | - - - - - 0 R ₂ |
| 8. Divorce laws should be altered to make divorce easier. | - - - - - T ₁ |
| 9. The so-called underdog deserves little sympathy or help from successful people. | - - - - - T ₂ |
| 10. Crimes of violence should be punished by flogging. | - - - - - 0 R ₁ T ₁ |
| 11. The nationalization of the great industries is likely to lead to inefficiency, bureaucracy and stagnation. | - - - - - 0 R ₁ |

12. Men and women have the right to find out whether they are sexually suited before marriage (e.g. by trial marriage). $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} - - , - T_1 \\ 0, +, ++ R_2 \\ \dots\dots\dots \end{array} \right.$
13. "My country right or wrong" is a saying which expresses a fundamentally desirable attitude. $\dots\dots\dots R_2$
14. The average man can live a good enough life without religion. $\dots\dots\dots T_1$
15. It would be a mistake to have coloured people as foremen over whites
16. People should realise that their greatest obligation is to their family.
17. There is no survival of any kind after death. $\dots\dots\dots T_1$
18. The death penalty is barbaric, and should be abolished. $0, +, ++, R_2$
19. There may be a few exceptions, but in general, Jews are pretty much alike. $\dots\dots\dots T_1$
20. The dropping of the first atom bomb on a Japanese city, killing thousands of innocent women and children, was morally wrong and incompatible with our kind of civilization. $+ , ++ \dots\dots\dots T_2$
21. Birth control, except when recommended by a doctor, should be made illegal. $- , 0, +, ++ T_1$
22. People suffering from incurable diseases should have the choice of being put painlessly to death. $\dots\dots\dots T_1$
23. Sunday-observance is old-fashioned, and should cease to govern our behaviour.
24. Capitalism is immoral because it exploits the worker by failing to give him full value for his productive labour. $0, +, ++, R_2$
25. We should believe without question all that we are taught by the Church. $\dots\dots\dots R_1$
26. A person should be free to take his own life, if he wishes to do so, without any interference from society. $\dots\dots\dots T_2$
27. Free love between men and women should be encouraged as a means towards mental and physical health. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} - - T_2 \\ - , 0, +, ++ R_1 \\ \dots\dots\dots \end{array} \right.$
28. Compulsory military training in peace-time is essential for the survival of this country. $\dots\dots\dots T_2$
29. Sex crimes such as rape and attacks on children deserve more than mere imprisonment; such criminals ought to be flogged or worse. $\dots\dots\dots R_2$
30. A white lie is often a good thing. $\dots\dots\dots T_2$
- "~~The idea~~ of God is an invention of the human mind. $\dots\dots\dots$
- It is wrong that men should be permitted greater sexual freedom than women by society.
- The Church should attempt to increase its influence on the life of the nation. $+ , ++, \dots\dots\dots T_2$
- Conscientious objectors are traitors to their country, and should be treated accordingly.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 35. The laws against abortion should be abolished. | ..... |
| 36. Most religious people are hypocrites. | $\overline{..} \overline{..} \overline{..} \overline{..} \overline{..} \overline{..} T_2$ |
| 37. Sex relations except in marriage are always wrong. | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \overline{0, +, +, +} T_2 \\ \overline{.....} R_2 \end{array} \right.$ |
| 38. European refugees should be left to fend for themselves. | $\overline{..} \overline{..} \overline{..} \overline{..} T_1$ |
| 39. Only by going back to religion can civilization hope to survive. | ..... |
| 40. It is wrong to punish a man if he helps another country because he prefers it to his own. | $\overline{0, +, +, +} R_1$ |
| 41. It is just as well that the struggle of life tends to weed out those who cannot stand the pace. | $\overline{..} \overline{..} \overline{..} \overline{..} T_1$ |
| 42. In taking part in any form of world organization, this country should make certain that none of its independence and power is lost. | $\overline{..} \overline{..} \overline{..} \overline{..} R_1$ |
| 43. Nowadays, more and more people are prying into matters which do not concern them. | $\overline{..} \overline{..} \overline{..} \overline{..} T_2$ |
| 44. All forms of discrimination against the coloured races, the Jews, etc. should be made illegal, and subject to heavy penalties. | ..... |
| 45. It is right and proper that religious education in schools should be compulsory. | ..... |
| 46. Jews are as valuable citizens as any other group. | $\overline{..} \overline{..} \overline{..} \overline{..} T_2$ |
| 47. Our treatment of criminals is too harsh; we should try to cure them, not punish them. | $\overline{0, +, +, +} R_1$ |
| 48. The Church is the main bulwark opposing the evil trends in modern society. | $\overline{0, +, +, +} T_1$ |
| 49. There is no harm in travelling occasionally without a ticket, if you can get away with it. | $\overline{..} \overline{..} \overline{..} \overline{..} T_2$ |
| 50. The Japanese are by nature a cruel people. | ..... |
| 51. Life is so short that a man is justified in enjoying himself as much as he can. | $\overline{..} \overline{..} \overline{..} \overline{..} T_1$ |
| 52. An occupation by a foreign power is better than war. | $\overline{0, +, +, +} R_2 T_1$ |
| 53. Christ was divine, wholly or partly in a sense different from other men. | $\overline{..} \overline{..} \overline{..} \overline{..} T_2$ |
| 54. It would be best to keep coloured people in their own districts and schools, in order to prevent too much contact with whites. | ..... |
| 55. Homosexuals are hardly better than criminals, and ought to be severely punished. | ..... |
| 56. The universe was created by God. | $(\overline{..} \overline{..} \overline{..} \overline{..})$ |
| 57. Blood sports, like fox hunting for instance, are vicious and cruel, and should be forbidden. | $\overline{..} \overline{..} \overline{..} \overline{..} T_1$ |
| 58. The maintenance of internal order within the nation is more important than ensuring that there is complete freedom for all. | $\overline{..} \overline{..} \overline{..} \overline{..} T_2$ |
| 59. Every person should have complete faith in some supernatural power whose decisions he obeys without question. | ..... |
| 60. The practical man is of more use to society than the thinker. | ..... |

Personal details It would be appreciated if you would fill in the following details:

61. Nationality
62. Male or Female
63. Age
64. Occupation (please give full details)
.....
65. Father's Occupation (please give full details)
.....
66. Age at which you finished your full-time education
67. Do you belong to any political party or to any organisation, association, or group which is interested in political matters? If so, please give details (e.g. Liberal Party, Communist Party, Pacifist group, Anarchist group, etc.)
.....
.....
68. Assume that a General Election is to be held tomorrow. In your constituency, you have a complete choice of all the political parties in this country. Which party would you prefer to vote for?
.....

Any comments you may wish to make on this questionnaire would be very welcome.

APPENDIX C. (b)

T.A.T. Stories.

APPENDIX C (b)

Examples of T.A.T. Stories.

Card 7EM - depicting dominance.

COMMUNISTS.

It's a father and son, there is no mother, she died some time ago and the father has been looking after the son. He has devoted his life to raising him and sent him to school and he has been a good father to him. The son was in the forces during the war, but is in civy street now. The father has a petrol station and a garage, and a house about three or four miles from a larger town. He has spent years building up the garage and has a good trade so that his son could take it over when he was old enough. His son is a mechanic, and wants to go to this nearby town and work there and he tells his father he is going to leave the next morning and strike out on his own, he wants to work in a larger town. The father talks to him firmly and decisively and points out the advantages - they have friends and they are busy at the works, have a good trade, make a comfortable living and he must stay there and work and run the business and help him. He is the only son and it is his duty to stay by his father in his old age. The father is getting old now and his eyes fill with tears. The son is

sulking. But he decides to stay and think it over and give it a try. So he stays and the work goes well.

In this story the father is built up as the main character (or hero) and he influences his son. Therefore dominance is scored as need dominance. If the son had been built up as the hero and then the father restrained him, the dominance would have been scored as object or indirect. But the father is the central figure and most of the story is devoted to him.

"The father talks to him firmly and decisively ----- and he must stay and run the business and help him." This latter part of the story is scored need dominance with a rating of 4 because of its importance to the main theme.

Card 7EM - depicting dominance.

FASCISTS.

I would say this is a young man who has come across a severe problem. He is a junior accountant in a firm and he is happy and satisfied with his job and he has been getting some raises and he has a girl. He and this girl had planned to get married as soon as he was made head of his department, but now he has decided not to wait. He knew his father would be against it, but he decided he would just go ahead. So he tells his father of his plans or at least its some older relative - maybe it isn't his father - but this man tells him he shouldn't get married just yet, he should wait until he is better established. The young man is bitter and feels everything has gone against him. His girl is willing to get married now, and his job isn't too bad. The older man is talking to him and the young man listens without really realizing it and the older man is proving a philosopher to him. The outcome will be that the young man will postpone his wedding and will absorb a more mature philosophy in dealing with life.

"As soon as he was made head of his department"
This is direct dominance exhibited by the hero, with a rating of 1 (M Dom 1)

In this story the young man is obviously the central

figure and the father or relative is a secondary character. The subject is indefinite about the identity of the older man. Yet the older man influences the younger man and postpones the wedding. Therefore, the dominance is scored as object need dominance, i.e. indirect dominance because a minor figure dominates the central figure. (ON Dom 3.)

Card 7EM - depicting dominance.

NORMALS.

They look like two men, maybe scientists, doing some work in a big factory. They are thinking very seriously about a problem both of them have worked on. The elder man is the one who has started the research on the subject, it's in a textile mill, and the younger man has come in to work on it later on and now they have reached an impasse and can't see any further ahead. The older man is being difficult and doubtful and pessimistic, but the younger man thinks they can go ahead and solve it. They both have very sad expressions and don't look very hopeful. The older man thinks they are wasting their time and should give up. They have been working on this problem for about two years now and in the last few months they haven't gone ahead very far. But the younger man tells him he has been thinking about it and gives him some ideas he has and he talks to him for about an hour and convinces him they should go on. He has confidence and soon the older man catches the spirit and the outcome is that they are successful.

In this story, both the older man and the younger man are central figures, but the younger man is judged to be the hero as he has a slightly more dominant part, since he is the central character and convinces the older man;

this is direct dominance and not object dominance or indirect dominance. M Dom 2.

The trait of dominance receives a rating of 2 because there is no coercion behind it. The younger man convinces the older man by constructive argument - "he gives him some ideas".

Card 18 BM - depicting aggression.

COMMUNISTS.

This takes place at a May Day celebration and the meeting was banned by the Home Secretary, but it took place anyway and these people were just meeting and not doing any harm, and they were attacked by the police who came in and tried to break up the meeting - very brutal - and arrested many men who were peaceful and unarmed, and they were dragged away by the police. This man whom the police are taking away had been speaking to the people and when the police came up he tried to tell them that they were not doing any harm, they were quiet and orderly until the police came and tried to break them up. You can see by the expression on his face that he is fairly unafraid and not particularly angry; quite a calm expression, eyes closed. He has remained calm. But another man comes along and tries to interfere when it didn't concern him. His right hand seems to be coming out from under his coat in rather an unnatural fashion and finally with this other man interfering the speaker struggles and throws off the police, who are not very capable and he gets away when he should have stayed and let the police arrest him because he wasn't doing any harm.

"the meeting took place anyway" MAG with a rating of 1. This is direct aggression - disregard of a government order.

The police are blamed and criticized for arresting some of the crowd, who are secondary characters in the story. For this reason, this aggression is scored as object or indirect aggression with a rating of 2.

The hero or central figure in this story is the speaker who was arrested. He has been built up in the early part of the story but at the end he is rejected because of his escape from the police. Criticism or blame directed towards the hero is scored as object or indirect aggression. The rating given here is 2 since the sentiment expressed was not very strong.

Card 18 BM - depicting Aggression.

FASCIISTS.

There was an open air meeting being held, it was one of a series of regular meetings and there was a big crowd gathered around listening to the speaker. And there was one little fellow who kept heckling the speaker. He was a rather dirty-looking Jew - you can always spot them, unkempt, a sad looking piece of humanity (laughs). He often came to the meetings and stood around usually at the back and listened. And then he started heckling the speaker who just ignored him the first few times but gradually it got worse and the speaker stepped down and argued with him. But there's not much use arguing with a fellow like that, what you need is action and teach people like him a lesson. We get hecklers lots of times and usually we just ignore them. But this Jew had been doing it for some weeks now and finally some members of the audience, some of our own gang, became disgusted and grabbed hold of him and ushered him up the street to a little alcove and gave him a good beating. They didn't have much trouble with him after that. He came around a few times and hung around on the outside of the crowd, but he was quiet and orderly and he knew we were watching him. Then one Saturday he came with some of his gang and started heckling again and tried to start a fight. But our

men were ready for them and it turned into a bit of a free for all. The police stepped in and the little Jew went running down the street with his henchmen tailing after him, and that's the last we ever saw of them.

The description of the Jew is direct aggression in the form of racial malice. KAg 3.

"What you need is action and teach people like him a lesson". This is a generalization and does not refer directly and only to the Jew. It is, therefore, scored as object or indirect aggression.

"And gave him a good beating" is direct aggression with a rating of 4.

Card 18 EM - depicting aggression.

NORMALS.

This fellow is probably in a mess of trouble, got mad at his wife, has some worry and doubt and went out and had too much to drink and started to make a fool of himself, started arguing with a man in the pub and then went outside and started to fight and he's been arrested for it. He goes to court and gets fined £1. He realizes afterwards when he sobers up a bit what a fool he was and was lucky to get off without being kept in jail. When he got home he lit into his wife and told her he had had enough of her nagging at him and complaining and wouldn't have anymore of it and if she didn't stop he would just pack up and leave. And he didn't bother him much after that.

"got mad at his wife". This is mild direct aggression displayed by the hero. MAG 1.

"started to fight" direct aggression by hero MAG 1.

In this story the hero was arrested and fined by legally constituted authorities. This is a socialized form of aggression. The hero was fined in court legitimately.

"pack up and leave" - direct aggression. MAG 1.